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SPECIAL ISRAEL ISSUE

United Nations WORLD

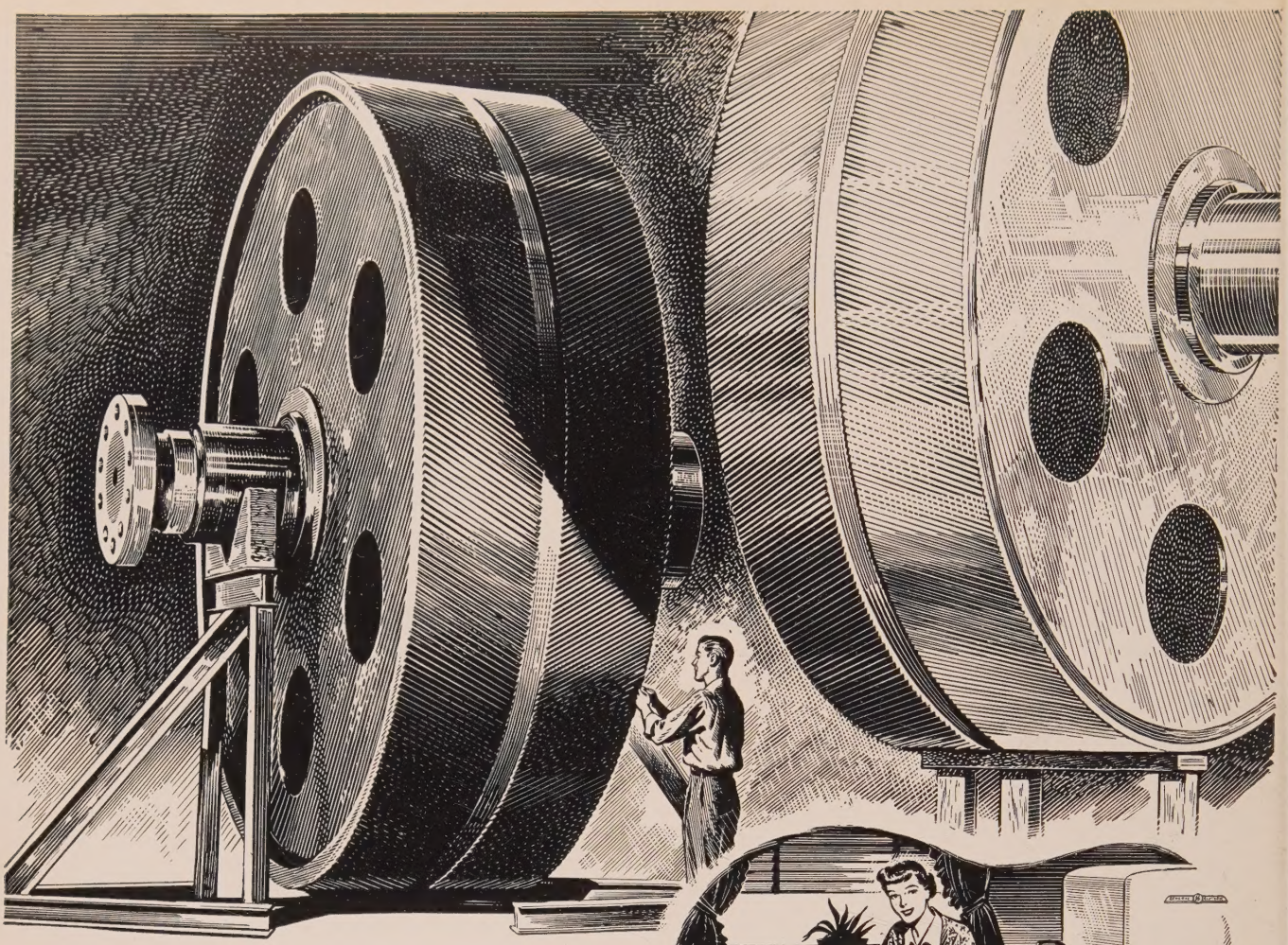
Peace with the Arabs
By DAVID BEN-GURION, Prime Minister of Israel

September: Decision on Peace or War
By LOUIS DOLIVET

How the Russian Mind Works
By ROBERT PAYNE

September, 1950, 35 cents

Preview of the Most Dramatic General Assembly
By FRANCIS W. CARPENTER, UN Correspondent of the AP



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Israel's Children Laugh *Photo by George Pickow-Three Lions*

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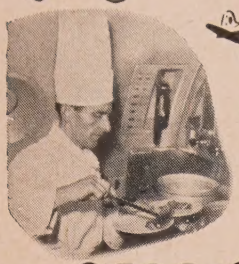

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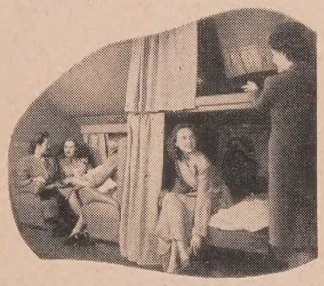

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President Truman Confident of Peace

A SOURCE close to President Truman has told us that in the course of a long and recent talk at the White House, the President was confident that *world peace with honor* is still possible.

Despite all the grave international developments, the President is convinced that acceptance of the inevitability of war would be tantamount to a catastrophe.

The free world has learned a great deal from the latest political and military developments, and what is required is to make the fullest use not only of the material but also of the spiritual and moral resources of the nations who believe in independence, freedom and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The President is not in a pessimistic mood at all. He is confident that the essential feature of his presidency will have been the strengthening of the ties among the free nations of the world and the maintenance of peace without appeasement and with no surrender to aggression.

Nehru's Grand Strategy

Other important developments are the activities of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and of his envoys, Sardar K. M. Pannikar, Ambassador to the communist regime in China, and Sir Benegal N. Rau, Indian representative at the Security Council.

Indian strategy for international understanding, we have learned, is unfolding as follows:

Prime Minister Nehru sets the over-all political tone for the preparation of an atmosphere which makes possible resumption of negotiations between East and West. Ambassador Pannikar in Peiping is trying to bridge the gap between the communist regime in China and the West.

(Continued on page 6)

WATCH UN WORLD'S PREDICTIONS!

July 1, 1950, UNW revealed the existence of secret documents involving a "deal" between Argentine President Peron and Brazilian candidate Vargas.

The New York Times confirmed this on August 21.

March 1, 1950, UNW alone predicted Russia's return to the United Nations by July.

On July 29, every newspaper carried the story of Malik's announcement of his return.

November 1, 1949, UNW foretold the emergence of India's Nehru as East-West mediator.

Today the world press buzzes with reports describing peace moves through Nehru.

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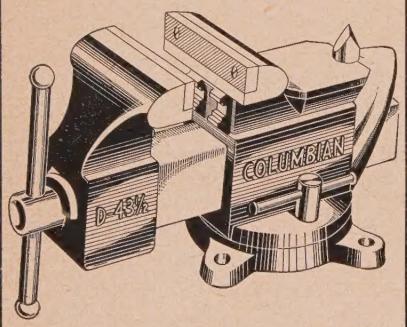

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SOW *continued*

His main effort is to explain to the Chinese that their elimination from the world scene at the UN is not final, and that even while Communist China is not at the UN its initiatives and policies can have very great effect upon world affairs. At the same time, Sir Benegal Rau at Lake Success is moving with great caution and firmness toward the creation of a committee of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, who might be able to find an acceptable compromise. Sir Benegal has displayed considerable diplomatic skill, and a patience almost unequalled in diplomatic annals, in his efforts to avoid anything which might give offense to East or West. As one statesman put it, he illustrates in person the combination of the best school of western diplomacy enriched by the resources of oriental wisdom.

As things stand now, the expectancy in international circles is that Korea will not result in World War III; that a compromise will put an end to the fighting, giving the UN a big role in Korea.

Some diplomatic circles are convinced that Russia will wait until the North Koreans find themselves definitely unable to eliminate UN forces from Korea, at which time it will let the North Koreans withdraw beyond the 38th parallel, and then suggest that the situation be reestablished which existed after the Potsdam Agreement, with Russia exerting the predominating influence in the North, the US in the South.

The Record

UN Help to US Troops in Korea

THE record to date of assistance given and offered by other United Nations to US troops in Korea is remarkable. The following forces are either in combat, en route to Korea, or awaiting MacArthur's orders:

U.K.: 22 ships, including aircraft carriers Triumph, Unicorn and Warrior; also aircraft carrier Theseus with jet planes an undisclosed number of ground troops—units of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and a detachment of Royal Marine Commandos. 1,500 first-class soldiers from Hong Kong, with 5- 6,000 more to come.

Australia: All Australian naval forces in Japanese waters, including the destroyers HMAS Bataan and HMAS Warramunga and the frigate HMAS Shoalhaven; an undisclosed number of fighter and bomber squadrons which have already distinguished themselves in many of the most difficult battles of Korea; 1,000 ground troops as an initial force just arriving in Korea, to be followed soon by reinforcements. 13,000 ground troops to be added to Japanese garrison and available for duty in Korea.

Canada: 3 destroyers; 1 long-range air squadron; 1 special service force of 5,000 men now in training; transport facilities of the regular Canadian commercial air service Vancouver to Tokyo.

New Zealand: 4 ships, including frigates HMNZS Tutire and HMNZS Puraki; a special combat artillery unit of 6,000 men and additional volunteers.

France: 1 sloop, La Grandière, as well as 1,200 men including 500 North African Arab scouts.

Netherlands: 1 destroyer. 400 soldiers and marines, 1,000 volunteers.

Philippines: 17 tanks; 1 tank destroyer.

Thailand: 4,000 men.

Turkey: 4,500 men.

Greece: 6 transport planes.

South Africa: 1 air fighter squadron.

Belgium: 6 transport planes.

Norway: Large shipping facilities for transport of materials.

Lebanon: $50,000 for relief work in Korea.

Sweden: Complete ambulance unit.

Denmark: Complete hospital ship Jutlandia and ambulance unit.

India: Surgical unit, including doctors, ambulances.

Ethiopia: $100,000 for medical supplies.

Chile: Strategic materials.

Israel: Medical services, supplies and drugs.

It is pointed out in diplomatic circles that the present example of UN solidarity is very encouraging. Within a few days of the aggression, ships and planes of many nations arrived at one of the farthest corners of the earth. Fifty-three nations, among them some small and practically defenseless countries, such as Iran, Norway and others, joined in a policy of support of the UN action.

Various governments have emphasized that the Secretary General's request of July 14 was understood by most United Nations as a request for any kind of military or technical assistance, but not necessarily of ground troops. The first definite request for ground troops came from General MacArthur's headquarters on August 17, and then the offers of troops began pouring in.

Diplomatic circles point out that the speed with which ships and planes and now troops have converged on the Korean area shows a very striking progress over the speed with which US forces were able to come to the aid of Europe in World Wars I and II.

Total War in the Security Council

THE procedural battle that raged in the UN Security Council throughout August was in reality the mask for a total war of propaganda aimed at the hundreds of millions of citizens of Europe and of Asia.

To the outside observer, the issues in the procedural battle appeared simple enough.

● **The first problem** arose when the Council's President for August, Jacob A. Malik, ruled that the Nationalist Chinese delegate be unseated as "representing no one,"—a ruling that was rejected by the Council after a two-day dispute.

● **The second problem** concerned the adoption of the agenda. The US insisted that the topic must be "Complaint of Aggression upon the Republic of Korea" as it had been for five weeks, and had submitted this in writing even before the first August meeting. The President's provisional agenda contained an item calling for representation on the Security Council for the Central People's Government of China (Communist), and for "Peaceful settlement of the Korean Question." Both were rejected, leaving the US item as the only one before the Council.

● **The third problem** had to do with the seating of the South Korean delegate at the Council table. The West held that by previous Council decision he was entitled to sit there. It wanted a Presidential ruling—which if unfavorable, could be overruled by Council vote. The East wanted to see a resolution introduced —which would be subject to Soviet veto.

In the Council debates, India sought to maintain an intermediary position, which we here present first, followed by those of the USSR and the US:

The Middle Position: Sir Benegal Rau

(On the ruling to unseat the Nationalist Chinese Delegate) "The question that has now been raised before the Council has divided the United Nations since January last. Unless it is resolved in a satisfactory manner very soon it may disrupt the organization. Procedure is a good servant but a bad master. Ever since India recognized the new Government in China, toward the end of last year, we have consistently followed the logical consequences of that step. I shall therefore vote for the President's ruling."

(On the dangers of the East-West impasse) "The course of the debates in this Council has served to

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SOW *continued*

increase rather than reduce the tension between the two great powers."

(Toward a solution on Korea) "To prevent further deterioration of relations . . . I have suggested a committee of the non-permanent members, because none of them can be accused or suspected of any expansionist ambitions. It will be open to the committee at the appropriate time to hear any person they please."

The East's Position: Jacob A. Malik

(On seating the representative of South Korea) "Both parties, Southern Korea and Northern Korea should be invited to participate in the discussions . . . we should hear the representatives of both governmental camps now in the throes of internecine struggle."

(Regarding North Korea's arms) "As to hints that the Soviet Union is supplying arms to the armies of Northern Korea, this is a slanderous and unfounded allegation . . . The troops of North Korea have supplies which were sold to them by the Soviet Union Army before its evacuation of Korea."

(On Korean aggression) "The United States of America has perpetrated a gross act of aggression against the Korean people and is the aggressor. The representative of the US is making vain efforts in his accusations against the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and when he uses these reports of the (UN Korean) Commission, which are falsified and which were dictated by MacArthur in the first place."

(On the war's outbreak) "Syngman Rhee (South Korean President) received an order to place his army at MacArthur's disposal when the campaign to the north was undertaken. On June 25, early in the morning, Southern Korea began a sudden incursion into Northern Korea. . . Defense forces repelled the attack of the enemy."

The West's Position: Warren Austin

(On seating the representative of South Korea) "A decision was made on June 25 that . . . the representative of the Republic of Korea shall sit at this table. The very first business in the regular order is to invite him to this table. It is the President's duty. The Republic of Korea has been declared by the United Nations to be the only Government which represents the Korean people."

(Why the UN fights in Korea) "The determination of the United Nations to insure that Korea shall be free, unified and independent of outside influence from any great power has never wavered. That is what the United Nations forces are fighting to uphold today in Korea . . . It is a supreme effort to give the Korean people the right to control their own destinies—a right that so many countries caught in the net of an imperialism with a new name, Communist imperialism, have lost."

(On Korean aggression) "It is not edifying to see the representative of the Soviet Union use his position as President of the Security Council to make these charges that the United States of America is the aggressor, that the Southern Koreans provoked the North Koreans by invading North Korea—and doing this on the time of these poor boys over there who are under fire."

(Clarifying the Issue) *"Whose country is being overrun by an invading army?* The Republic of Korea."

"Who is assisting the Republic of Korea to defend itself? The United Nations, with the support of 53 out of 59 members."

"Who has the influence and the power to call off the invading North Korean Army? The Soviet Union."

"Is the Soviet Union one of the 53? No."

"What member of the Security Council is assisting the invaders in the Security Council? The Soviet Union. The president of the Security Council . . . has made every effort to stop our work and keep us from our business."

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Preview of the 5th

By FRANCIS W. CARPENTER

Associated Press Correspondent at the United Nations

THE Fifth General Assembly of the United Nations, called to convene at the United Nations building in Flushing Meadow on Sept. 19, 1950, may go down in history as the Korean Assembly. The Korean war, the gravest crisis the five-year-old United Nations organization has faced, certainly will influence the coming Assembly and there is no doubt that its decisions on Korea and problems related to it will go a long way toward making or breaking the United Nations.

The General Assembly is actually the regular business meeting of all of the 59 members of the United Nations. In that large and colorful body, every country has an equal vote. The little nations do not need to fear the big power veto as they have feared it in the Security Council.

The Security Council had left the Korean problem to the General Assembly in previous years. There were no hostilities and the Council's assignment is to stop wars. But on June 25, 1950, when the Communist North Koreans struck across the 38th Parallel dividing the Russian-backed regime from the Republic of Korea, sponsored by the United Nations, the Security Council stepped in with prompt action. That speed was possible because the Russians were sitting in their tents, piqued that the United Nations would not let their Communist Chinese allies in the door. Accordingly there was no veto to stop the Council. The Russians apparently found they had erred for on August 1, 1950, they walked back into the Council and began a delaying movement that tied the exasperated delegates in procedural knots.

It was too late to stop the United Nations war effort but the Russians began a campaign to isolate the United States from its allies and to discredit the United States around the world as much as possible.

From that backdrop of summer storm, the United Nations delegates backing the collective action against the Communists are looking to the General Assembly for strong guidance. They are counting heavily on the growing moral power of the Assembly. That force, moral power, is all the authority the Assembly can command but it has come to be recognized as a potent factor.

The Security Council began the resistance against the Communist North Koreans. The Assembly may have the job of settling the problem by a political decision after the fighting has ended.

Korea Dwarfs Other Problems

There are other matters before this coming Assembly but, of course, they are overshadowed by the Korean affair. Secretary-General Trygve Lie, in his annual report to the Assembly on the work of the organization, said if the United Nations is able to emerge from the present crisis its strength and influence will be immeasurably enhanced and the world will be much closer to lasting peace than at any time since 1945.

There have been other worries, such as the Berlin blockade, but nothing like the shooting war in Korea since the United Nations opened its doors for business.

On July 22, 1950, the United Nations Secretariat published the Provisional Agenda of the Fifth Regular session of the General Assembly. It

General Assembly

listed 62 items, normal for the Provisional Agenda, but many of them involved housekeeping, financial and other technical points related to the operation of the Secretariat. Actually, there were some half-dozen problems of great concern, and most of these were old issues handed down from previous Assemblies.

These included the Eritrean question, the internationalization of Jerusalem, which the United Nations could not put into effect during the past year, the Balkans question, in which the United Nations Special Committee on the Balkans (UNSCOB) is worried about the possibility of hostilities in that region, the problem of the independence of Korea, and finally but by no means least the charges lodged by Nationalist China against the Soviet Union.

There were two important new items on the agenda. The first was the appointment of the Secretary-General of the United Nations. All

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bets at Lake Success are that Trygve Lie will be sitting in the S-G's beautifully appointed office in the new Manhattan Building of the United Nations next year after his first five year term ends in February. Lie wants to go home to Norway but he is like a soldier in a battle; he will not step down while a fight is on and he feels that the United Nations needs him.

Lie by Popular Demand

There is every indication that the United States and the Soviet Union cannot agree on a new man for the job—no candidates are being seriously considered—so Lie will have to stay on one way or the other. If the East and West cannot get together to give him the unanimous approval of the five permanent members of the Security Council as required by the United Nations Charter, the Assembly will have to extend his term.

The other major new item was introduced by Lie himself. It was his famous memorandum on "Development of a 20-year program for achieving peace through the United Nations." Lie took this memorandum with him when he talked with President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee, Premier Bidault and Generalissimo Stalin last spring. It notes the current top problems. Lie explained in his annual report that the points listed in it are not a definitive and formal program but rather an outline of preliminary proposals as a basis for a program. Lie explained also in his report that because of the Korean war he has had to suspend efforts to get top officials of the big powers together for negotiations looking toward an East-West settlement. He said the need for such negotiations will be greater after the Korean conflict and that it will take "an act of bold and enlightened statesmanship to bring about a resumption of negotiations and to halt further deterioration towards another world war."

How Many Votes for Peiping?

The issue of Chinese representation will be discussed but there is general agreement that the Korean war has priority and that the West will not link the Chinese and Korean questions. As the Assembly drew near, there was no indication that the Red Chinese had enough votes to toss out Nationalist China and take its seat in the United Nations.

The Assembly, the biggest show in the United Nations, has 59 members (14 other countries have applied but have not passed the Security Coun-

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cil), each of which is allowed five top delegates and five alternates. The huge auditorium in the former New York City Building on the old World's Fair grounds, once a skating rink, has been elaborately fitted to give the ten representatives of each country a place on the Assembly floor.

High above the delegates on a dais sit the Assembly President, who is chosen on the first day, Secretary-General Lie, and Lie's Executive Assistant, Andrew W. Cordier, an American citizen from Indiana. Cordier works day and night during the Assembly to keep it going smoothly and at full tilt.

So Dear to Your Heart

Now, suppose you are the chief delegate from Claustrophobia. How would you get the Assembly to approve a resolution on which you had set your heart?

You would present Lie with a formal letter asking him to put your resolution before the Assembly. He would send it to the General (Steering) Committee, made up of the President, the seven Vice Presidents, and the Chairmen of the six main committees of the Assembly. These main committees have 59 members each, one for every member state in the United Nations. The General Committee cannot stop your resolution but can recommend that the Assembly not consider it. But you can go before the full Assembly and ask it to put your pet project on the agenda. Let us assume the Assembly does and that it sends your resolution to the Political Committee, one of the six main committees.

Referred to Committee No. 1

This Political Committee will debate your project at length. If the Russian delegation is against it, you can expect Foreign Minister Andrei Y. Vishinsky or whoever is the top delegate, to pour streams of invective upon your hapless proposal. If it survives test votes, it may go to a sub-committee for polishing.

From the sub-committee it will go back to the parent Political Committee, beginning its long climb back up the ladder to adoption. The Political Committee will give it another whirl, with the Soviet delegate likely repeating himself at a higher tempo. Then, let us assume, the Political Committee will pass it and send it back to the full Assembly. The Committee work is done at Lake Success while the Assembly does its business at Flushing Meadow.

The Assembly will debate it at length, with the Soviet delegate going over the ground for the third time and the opposing delegations answering him again. Finally, the talk is exhausted and your bedraggled proposal, weak and weary but still with life in it, squeaks through by a bare two-thirds majority of those delegates present and voting, as required by Assembly rules. You can feel satisfied with that victory, for it will have taken you six weeks to get it, plus some of the hardest work you ever did.

But for all of its wordiness, the United Nations is proud of the Assembly as a place in which the little fellow has as much to say as the big power. This has irked Vishinsky at times, for he has commented with some sarcasm on the fact that a small Central American country's vote is just as good as that of the Soviet Union in the Assembly. Vishinsky can't block action in the Assembly by a veto.

A Minute of Prayer

The United Nations will open the coming session with a minute of silence dedicated to prayer or meditation. This was put in at the request of thousands of people around the world and the actual arrangement of a minute of silence was thought up by Lie. He suggested it should be for prayer or for meditation for those delegates who do not believe in prayer. The United Nations has all shades of beliefs but this formula apparently will satisfy everyone.

There are some people at the United Nations who fervently wish everyone in the big hall would pray and pray hard during that minute and for some time afterwards. The United Nations is in need of prayer and the more prayers offered up on its behalf the better for the United Nations.

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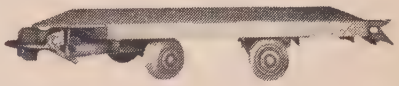

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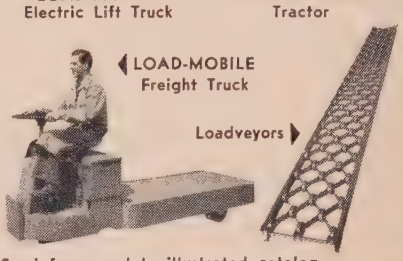

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With thousands of homeless families pouring in a steady stream into their racial homeland, the Israeli government faces the task of mass-producing thousands of modern single and double housing units fast. Plans called for comfortable, windproof, fireproof buildings to stand up against extremes of Near East weather conditions. Israel is making real progress in solving this problem by using the now famous Tournalayer method of on-site construction of low-cost, steel-reinforced concrete homes. This method is very advantageous in that it utilizes native materials for construction thus cutting down costly imports. With this modern production-line-on-wheels at the site, 4-room units are completed in less than 24 hrs. each.

Houses are poured in easily assembled forms at a central site with economic access to stockpiles of raw materials. When concrete is set, the house straddling rubber-tired Tournalayer lifts the monolithic structure off the inner form and transports it to the permanent location where the "layer" sets it on its foundation. Here, the Tournalayer removes the outer form, leaving the completed house structure ready for finishing.

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These home units measure 32′ 8″ (10.0 m) long, 24′ (7.3 m) wide, 10′ (3.0 m) high with 784 sq. ft. (73 sm) floor space. Where the houses are to rest on the ground, they are cast with a flare footing 12″ (.30 m) wide. This footing can readily be removed for upper story units. The Tournalayer machine places two story units with ease to make attractive duplex dwellings. Inside and out, only minimum finishing is required.

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United Nations
WORLD

This Fateful September of 1950:

Decision on Peace or War

By LOUIS DOLIVET
Editor, United Nations World

To Europe, September is a month of sad memories. On another September eleven years ago, another world war was started. This September looks very much like that of 1939.

This is why the people of Europe in particular, will be watching with infinite anxiety every day of September. They will bless the days that have gone by, and they will fear those still to come. After September, the advent of floods and impassable mud, avalanches of snow and ice—traditionally the enemies of man—will give him respite from his fellow-man and offer a new lease on life, at least for a few months. The late fall and winter are the best protection in Europe against vast army movements.

Thus September is the most dangerous month of this fear-laden year of 1950. The rich, golden harvest will have been brought in from the Ukrainian, Hungarian and Bulgarian wheat fields. In those countries where men are traditionally more afraid of hunger than of death, public opinion has been getting throughout the year an unopposed and uninterrupted stream of skillful propaganda broadsides picturing the rest of the world—particularly the United States—as being led by governments and exploiters who have gone mad in their rage against the socialist experiments of the new democracies.

Added to this are the triumphant reports of the communist victories in China and Korea; the story of the growing popular revolts in Indo-China, Malaya and Burma. The reluctance of India and of the Arab countries to take sides in the battle of the giants and the knowledge of the strength of the Communist Parties in France and Italy complete the Soviet citizens' mental image of the rest of the world .

The last hesitations of the Soviet man before the great plunge from which there is no return are silenced by the repetition again and again of the fact that the United States is building an overwhelming military machine and that a hostile European army is being assembled to strangle the Soviet world.

The purpose behind the internal propaganda build-up is quite clear. The war to come is pictured as a measure of self-defense against war-crazy leaders whose peoples are waiting for the day when they can fraternally join their Soviet liberators on the battlefields.

Socialist and Liberals Prepare Defenses

While in the Soviet countries, in the name of socialism and peace, the people are being readied for the worst, other men, also in the name of socialism—but of a different kind—are preparing their armies for defense.

In France, Jules Moch, Minister of National Defense, is unafraid. During World War II he faced death on three counts—as a Frenchman, as a Socialist and as a Jew. This time he is preparing with grim determination a new, powerful French Army. He told the French Cabinet bluntly that "in the interest of her very survival, France must be armed before the approaching war storms." The French argue that if the Russians have made up their minds to war they will proceed whether France arms or not. Most important is to try to escape from the helpless position of a defenseless power. That is why, even though French economy requires every ounce of strength for further reconstruction, the French have increased their budget by 80 billion francs ($230 million), which amounts to an 18 per cent increase. Furthermore, France is considering a new plan to create 15 more divisions, which will cost the fantastic sum of 2 trillion francs.

Across the Channel in Great Britain, two Socialist Ministers—one of Defense, Emmanuel Shinwell, the other of War, John Strachey—once accused of being fellow-travellers,

have set up an unprecedented military budget for England's peacetime economy. This budget will amount to $9,520,000,000 for defense measures for the next three years.

In Italy, Defense Minister Randolfo Pacciardi, who once fought before Madrid in the ranks of the loyalist battalions that were aided by Soviet weapons, is preparing to bring the Italian Army up to the maximum strength of 250,000 men permitted under the peace treaty.

Thus we are witnessing the extraordinary spectacle that in Europe the defense against communist expansion is not being led by extreme rightists, but that socialists and leftists are manning the barricades.

At Lake Success, Trygve Lie, still the tireless fighter for an understanding between East and West, has cast his lot with the majority of the Security Council and is mobilizing the resources of the United Nations against the North Korean aggressor. Even Lie came back from Moscow with the conviction that the non-Soviet nations, while they must never close the door to over-all negotiations with the USSR, must be strong in the very interest of peace, and react against any aggression.

At any other time in history war under these circumstances would have been unavoidable. But today, despite the accumulation of all the frightening elements which usually lead to war, there are certain factors which point the other way.

Why the Soviets Will Hesitate to Attack

There is one notable flaw in the war psychosis of the Soviet mind. The average Soviet citizen has been trained to defend his country and his philosophy against an outside attack, but he has not been trained to attack. The only spark that could set aflame the vast Soviet world would be direct attack against a Soviet country. So long as that attack is not forthcoming, the present leadership of the Soviet Union—which still remembers that anti-war propaganda was the starting point of the Bolshevik victory of 1917—will hesitate to give the signal for a *direct* attack. The main political aim of the Soviet Union is to keep the initiative of the peace offensive, while placing responsibility for any reaction against localized aggressions upon the shoulders of the West.

Strength of UN Idea in Russia

A major political bar to any war move on the part of the Soviet Union lies in the fact that the UN exerts far-reaching influence on the peoples of the USSR and, to an even greater degree, on those of the Eastern European countries.

Only if the United Nations were so deeply divided that not only the Soviet bloc but also important countries such as India, the Arab States and others threatened to withdraw, would the Soviet Government be able to reverse its former line.

West Will Oppose Extension of Conflicts

On the other hand, the West could not and would not launch a preventive war against the Soviets, however many localized wars might occur. Should fighting break out elsewhere than in Korea, the West would take action similar to its action there. The Security Council would be asked to take immediate measures. If it proved to be paralyzed by the Soviet veto, the General Assembly would be called upon to recommend action against the aggressor.

The Soviet position in September and in the following months, when non-Soviet delegates will exercise the presidency, will be much more difficult than it was under Mr. Malik's chairmanship in August. If the Russians stay in, they will not be able to delay a Security Council vote for more than a few hours, for any energetic chairman could bring about a vote at once.

General Assembly—The Answer to the Veto

In order to avoid the delays attendant upon calling a regular General Assembly, it is probable that the Assembly will decide to set up appropriate machinery which will enable all the member nations to be called immediately into special sessions when necessary.

The Economic and Social Council has set a precedent by its decision, recently taken in Geneva, on the almost constant functioning of one of the main organs of the United Nations.

Thus the veto power within the Security Council no longer appears as the all-powerful weapon it once was. Slowly the idea is emerging in UN circles that the General Assembly can do what the Security Council will not achieve if the veto should prevail.

The smaller nations in particular are working day and night at finding solutions which would give the General Assembly much more power than in the past. The Korean War has enhanced their chances to win this time their long-standing feud with the whole Security Council concept, which many of them have resented because of the permanent privileges of the Big Five. This time the U.S., Great Britain and France will not discourage the small nations in their effort.

All in all, while September is the most frightening month of this year, and perhaps of any year, and while an unforeseeable act of madness on the part of one or two leaders could precipitate the catastrophe, chances are that no war will ensue.

The vast majority of the United Nations has learned the lesson of Korea. A new instance of aggression will find itself confronted by an energetic and infinitely more closely-knit UN force.

The UN's ability to preserve the peace has been greatly strengthened by the important decision of the Economic and Social Council to set up a vast machinery of economic sanctions against any aggressor and his allies. While the world's attention was concentrated on Lake Success, the Economic and Social Council in Geneva quietly laid the foundations for the exercise by the UN of an economic power which may yet prove as affective as that of the Security Council.

The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (Pica)

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PICA, founded to manage and continue the work of colonization development of the late Baron Edmond de Rothschild, was uniquely created by special Government Ordinance in 1924 as an institution of public utility.

COLONIZATION: Settlements founded and assisted by PICA number 44, with an area of over 500,000 dunams, inhabited by a population of some 50,000 souls. The first PICA settlements were individualist connected by co-operative societies but since 1918 they include some of the most outstanding kibutzim and moshavim in Israel. Each year PICA creates new villages to swell the list of previous achievements.

AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENTS: It was the Baron's initiative which brought the grapefruit, alfalfa, tractors, Dutch cows, Leghorn poultry into the country. Rational crop rotation was first introduced by PICA. It also was the pioneer in developing intensive cultivation, on the basis of irrigation; the first deep water drillings in Palestine were made by PICA.

SOIL IMPROVEMENT: From very earliest days special attention was devoted to marsh drainage by the planting of eucalyptus (the beautiful Hedera woods) by surface and underground channels and pipes. The largest drainage works in the country were carried out by PICA in the Kabara swamps (near Zikhron Ya'aqov) where 6,000 dunams were converted into highly fertile land.

Afforestation (the Tsevi Forest near Tiberias is an example), sand binding as at Caesarea, soil preservation and similar activities have always constituted an important element of PICA's activities. Though unspectacular these works are of the highest essentiality in developing the country's economic potential.

INDUSTRY: The Baron and the PICA have always encouraged industrial development simultaneously with agricultural expansion. The Rishon and Zikhron Wine Cellars, the flour mills (Grands Moulins de Palestine), the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Palestine Brewery, the Chemicals & Fertilizers, the Palestine Salt Co.—these are but some of the enterprises that owe their existence to the initiative and participation of the PICA.

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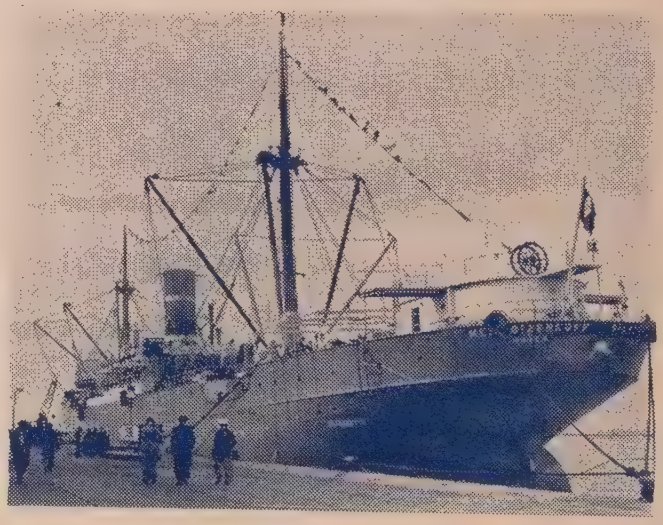

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Here is the long-awaited objective analysis of the perpetually dynamic forces in Russian history which propel the communist drive

How the Russian Mind Works

By ROBERT PAYNE

A brilliant political writer, the author of this article has published half a dozen significant books, among them "Forever China," "Report on America," and "Zero: The History of Terrorism."

WHEN a seven-man junta of Korean revolutionaries at the orders of Moscow instigated the attack on Southern Korea, the undeclared war between the Soviet Union and America entered the phase of total war. We now have to ask ourselves whether the Russians really desire the conquest of the world, and whether Lenin's prophecy of the "inevitable, frightful convulsions which are bound to occur between Communism and Capitalism" are now about to take place. There are considerable reasons for believing that the Russians do desire the conquest of the world, that they regard their victory as inevitable and that they are prepared to pay the price in frightfulness.

For many hundreds of years there have existed in the Russian mind internal compulsions which suggest that the "inevitable frightful convulsion," with all its romantic overtones, is seen by them as an acceptable possibility.

The Russians are not moved by purely Communist forces: more ancient and more dangerous forces are at work. This is easy to understand since there are behavior patterns and dreams which perpetuate themselves through the history of each nation. And just as the trained psychologist looks for the gratuitous remarks of his patients, the historian can observe, over intervals of hundreds of years, the repetition of the same gratuitous acts and the emergence of the same gratuitous ideas among nations.

This is, of course, dangerous ground. The psychologists have invented a terminology by which they can describe the changing shapes and forces which work on the human mind: there is still no adequate terminology to describe the shapes and forces which work on the national mind. And yet—just as a musician can immediately recognize the signmanual of Beethoven in his least important and least considered works, so we can recognize a peculiar tone which is Russian.

First of all, we recognize throughout Russian history a characteristic mood: sombre, disputacious, self-absorbed—a wrestle of souls, some obscure argument taking place in a darkened corner, a yearning for health and repose and at the same time a desperate desire for an absolute, perfect security, far from the whips of the slave-masters: a security wholly impossible, only dreamed of.

There is a Russian word—*prostor*—signifying the endless perspectives of the plains. At the same time it signifies the ache in the heart of the peasant as he gazes at the horizon, knowing that beyond the horizon the plain remains. Until recently the malaise of *prostor* was almost universal throughout Russia, for the plains stretch from the Finnish marshes to the China sea.

It was a malaise that drove men half-mad, just as the deserts of the Thebaid drove mad the ancient anchorites. It was probably inescapable, but for the Russian peasant as for

the desert fathers there were ample rewards in dreams. Just beyond the horizon lay the heavenly palaces; beyond that grove of fir-trees lay inexhaustible treasures. But nearly always there was an awakening, and then, deprived of imagined treasures, the peasant fell in a rage and tried to cut and thrust his way back to the place where he had been in his dreams.

How deeply the image of the plains, and all its consequences, was felt by an intelligent Russian can be seen in the works of Turgeniev, who regarded himself as one of those who were immune to the perturbations of the Russian spirit. The plains haunted him. He is continually describing in his novels the ghostly quality of the plains: they can be as frightening at noon as at sunset: they are so full of strange will-o'-the-wisps that the mind is continually bewildered. In May, 1850, he wrote to Mme. Viadot:

"Russia must wait, with its vast and sombre countenance, motionless and veiled like the sphinx of Oedipus. She will swallow me up later on. I seem to see her large, inert gaze fixed upon me, with a dreary scrutiny appropriate to eyes of stone."

What he is describing, however, is not the Russian sphinx so much as the stony Russian plain—that eternity of nothingness from which the nihilists perhaps derived their rage.

But with the plains go the dreams which turn effortlessly into nightmares. Nicolai Chernichevsky, who invented the word "nihilist," described in his book *What should be done?* the anarchist paradise, where there were no responsibilities and *"no one works unless he desires to, and the cheerful peasant may sit during the long summer afternoons beside his table spread with huge cups of wine, while the wind fans him; he lives, contented with himself, in a delightful dream."*

Almost overnight, the dream became nightmare. The earthly paradise was on the other side of the wall. Smash down the wall, and everything would be given to you in double measure. From the seeds planted in *What should be done?* there evolved the Russian nihilists, those determined and reckless men who possessed the most extreme contempt for the moral law, and who led the revolutionary movement of the '70's from which the Communists have derived their impetus. Nechayev, the leader of the nihilists, admitted his debt to Chernichevsky, and Lenin repeatedly admitted his debt to Nechayev.

We shall understand the nature of the Russian mind better when we realize the extent of the blood-letting. Their wars and schisms have never been gentle. There is no ordinary ferocity in these sweeping destructions of whole provinces, whole cities. The poet Alexander Blok spoke humbly and reasonably when in 1918 he said: "We face the second or third apocalypse." The word apocalypse loses its theological implications when it is employed to describe events in Russia. It becomes simply a description of what happens: universal riot and universal desolation, pure terror breaking through the crust of the earth.

When Ivan the Terrible attacked Novgorod, believing falsely that Novgorod was prepared to sue with his enemies, he abandoned himself to an incredible bloodlust. Sixty thousand people were put to death by burning, frying, drowning, stabbing, torture and simple knifing. There is no record that Ivan showed any remorse. In the following year Moscow itself was attacked by the Khan of the Crimean Tartars and put to the flames. Ivan escaped, but it is recorded that half a million people perished.

More millions were slain during the uprising of Pugachev during the time of Catherine the Great. Napoleon met his defeat at Moscow, but not before causing havoc throughout European Russia. The Nazi attack on Russia was of the same proportions, producing not massacres but holocausts.

Inevitably there has emerged in Russia a deep-lying hysterical fear of those who wait outside its borders. There is only one cure for this fear: the borders must be secured. But how can they be secured without destroying all enemies?

Some important consequences can now be stated. To demand from the Russians that they should accept peaceful delimitations of their frontiers is impossible. They must continually attempt to break through, not because they desire conquest for the sake of conquest, or for the gains which result from conquest, but because they are perpetually afraid of the holocausts which have already taken place and which seem to them

The Russian mind is haunted by the memories o

1235 KIEV was plundered by the invading Tartars led by Batu, who razed many cities and massacred their entire populations.

only too likely to recur. Millions do not die without leaving a trace. They seem to have perished completely, but they leave a legacy of nightmares and inchoate fears which hound the survivors, and continue through the generations.

To the Russians an atomic bomb on Moscow must seem to be predestined: something very like it has happened so often in the past that they can almost see the blaze before their eyes. Hence their feverish determination to extend their frontiers and to accept the most inhuman conditions if by any means they can avert the dropping of the bomb. More than any other nation they are imaginatively aware of destruction: they have lived with it so long that it has become a commonplace. And though there is a basis of hysteria in their attitude to the bomb, they talk of its effects more quietly than the Americans, who have never known a single apocalypse and probably would not recognize one if they saw one.

The Russians are not Asiatics, nor are they Europeans: they belong to that strange no man's land between the two, which has so far remained nameless, a land which fans out from Constantinople in the south and stretches to the North Pole. Ultimately, their roots are Byzantine. It was directly from Byzantium that they received their habit of disputing violently over trifles, their sectarianism and their tradition of authoritarian rule.

Perhaps the most revealing thing which has ever been said of the Russians was spoken by Lord Bryce in his work on the Holy Roman Empire. He quite rightly regarded Russia as the successor of the East Roman Empire. "*The Russians,*" he wrote, "*are as much a religious as a political community, and they carry with them over the vast spaces of northern and central Asia the traditions of an empire conterminous with a Church, an empire which is at once the offspring and the guardian of the Orthodox Faith.*" Substitute the religion of Communism for Christianity, and Lord Bryce's statement first made in 1864 is seen to have a purely modern application.

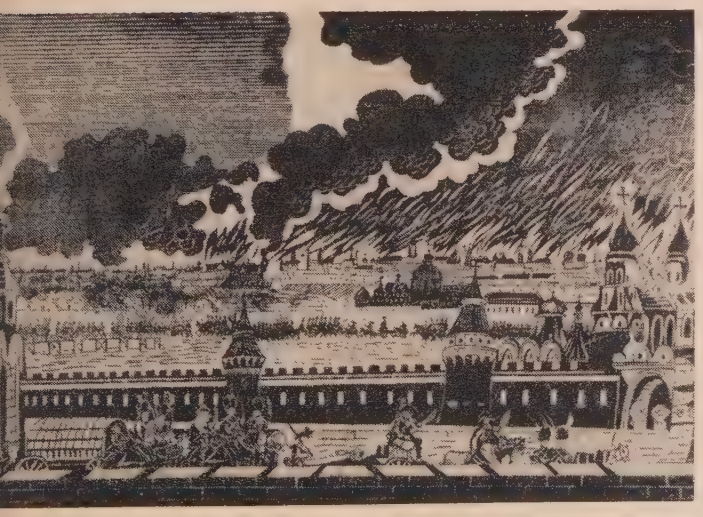
Lord Bryce's view was shared by a man of totally dissimilar character and totally different experiences. Writing fifteen years after Lord Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* was published, Dostoyevsky in a mood of extraordinary tranquillity and imaginative penetration described the problems which absorb the Russian mind in his famous story of the confrontation of Christ and the Grand Inquisitor.

The story, as Dostoyevsky himself suggested, is neither about Christ nor the Grand Inquisitor: it is about the Russian people confronted with the authoritarian ruler they inherited from Byzantium; and when he speaks about "all men" or "people everywhere" it is perfectly clear that he is speaking only about the Russians, the people whom he knew and understood more than any others. The Grand Inquisitor is speaking:

"*Their craving for* community *of worship is the chief misery of every man individually and of all humanity from the beginning of time. For the sake of common worship they have slain each other with the sword. They have set up gods and challenged one another, 'Put away your gods and come and worship ours, or we will kill you and your gods!' And so it will be to the end of the world.*"

Dostoyevsky himself italicised the word "community," and that religious and political community which Lord Bryce spoke of in the most academic terms is in fact what the Russians most fervently desire. The word "communism" therefore possesses meanings to the Russian which have nothing to do with theories of Karl Marx. By one of the most dangerous accidents of history, a German scholar working in the British Museum employed a term which possessed endless connotations for the Russians, and for no other European people. Not the community but the city—a much more succint expression—ob-

ffering, bloodletting and historic cataclysms.



1812 MOSCOW was destroyed by flames in the ambitious war Napoleon had launched for the conquest of impregnable Holy Russia.

1944 STALINGRAD was but a skeleton of city by the time the siege was raised a the Nazi army was destroyed or captur

sessed the European mind.

The story of the Grand Inquisitor has remarkable significance for the present time. Here and perhaps here alone the two contrary facets of the Russian mind are seen together at a moment of high drama. When the Grand Inquisitor points out that the great conquerors, Timurlane and Genghis Khan, whirled like hurricanes over the earth striving to subdue all the people, but all the time they are only unconscious expressions of the popular craving for universal unity, or when he exclaims: "*We—we alone have taken the sin upon ourselves, in order to bring happiness to the people,*" we are led into regions where there are mysteries, but at least we are listening to the authentic voice of the Russian autocrat, who confesses his sins at length. Reading this long confession, one realizes why Bukharin and Zinoviev were compelled to confess their sins and even to invent imaginary ones.

The Craving for a Despot

It is precisely this attitude in the Russian mind, the desire and respect for the autocratic ruler, the connivance in his rule, the desolate belief in his mystical power, which makes Russia so dangerous. The Russians never believed in the stability of social organizations, but the stability of the autocrat, as long as he lived, was self-evident. Deeply religious, they could see in him the appointed ruler, the arbiter of their destinies, the chosen of God.

There were other elements which made them disposed to accept the autocrat. Throughout Russian history there has been little to show that the Russian is driven by a belief in wealth. Wealth, in general, was something to be despised as altogether too material. It was partly because the Russian was temperamentally averse to amassing wealth that he could be made to work for the autocrat for nothing.

"*Destroy* everything," wrote the nihilist Nechayev. "*The state is the coordinator of* all *human activity,*" wrote Lenin, only a few months after prophesying the complete destruction of the state. "*Proletarians of* all *nations, unite,*" wrote Marx, and the cry remained almost unheard until the Russian Communists took it up. "All-mania" has deep roots in Russia, and it was not only Avvakum who wrote: "*Let us* all *be monsters for the sake of Christ!*" Mediaeval Russia was penetrated with the disease. Is there a cure?

It seems unlikely. At this late stage in Russian history the pattern has been established, and is deeply stamped on the fabric of the Russian mind: yet it would be extremely dangerous to believe that this is the ultimate pattern, or the most important one. Other forces are at work. It is perfectly possible for contrary forces to exist within a national consciousness.

"All-ness," the desire for supremacy over all rivals, the desire for autocracy and world domination, the trauma which has arisen as a result of apocalyptic disasters, the perpetual schisms feeding on schisms, the sense of insufficiency arising from the contemplation of the endless plains, the eternal arguments over definitions, the urge towards uniformity, the belief in themselves as successors to the Byzantine Empire, their astonishing claims to have invented nearly all the inventions of the West, their demand that "the deed shall be changed," for otherwise like Karamazov they will "give their ticket back to God," all these spring from a destructive nucleus: a death-wish.

Will Life-Wish Triumph?

But there is also a life-wish which manifests itself in the patience of the Russian people, the wealth of their language, their unyielding patriotism and their sense of community with their fellows. There have been collectivist elements in the agrarian structure of Russia through historical times: the *obtschina* of the peasants and the *artels* of the artisans are the seeds which flowered into the enormous bureaucratic state-farms; and if Communism perished in Russia, collectivism and a deep-centered sense of community would remain. We cannot fight against Russian "communalism," for the Russian sees no injustice in living for his community. Our enemies are the autocrat and the secret police who personify the rigid obscurantism in the Russian mind.

The war has been declared: and in an age of apocalyptic weapons no one can say for certain to what lengths the Russians will go to enforce their obsessions upon the world. But if we are to win the war it is necessary to know what their obsessions are, and why they are so insistent, and what form they will take in modern war. That they desire world conquest passionately can no longer be disputed, but the fact that they are themselves presumably aware of the obsessional nature of their desire, and its complicated origins, may well act as a brake. Halted, they have always the advantage of being able to retreat into themselves, wasting their energies on more disputations, more definitions, more arguments to prove that their conduct was right even when it has been proved wholly unsuccessful. War against America would inevitably introduce schisms, and they fear schisms among themselves more than they fear their external enemies. Belonging to a huge no man's land themselves, they would prefer that the war should be carried on along the no man's land which comprises their frontiers, and tributary states. They suffer from the fundamental weakness of states which prefer autocracy to democracy: the autocrat may die or go mad: he is certain to over-reach himself: and because he is irreplaceable his successor can only achieve a comparable distinction by a series of dramatic and useless acts.

It is in this sense that in general our propaganda has been demonstrably senseless: we have been concerned to prove that communism is inefficient or arbitrary or possible only in a police state, forgetting that the elements of "communalism" within communism are acceptable to the Russian people, and probably acceptable to no other people. Our aim should have been to undermine the authority

(Continued on page 36)

An Eyewitness Report

On Today's Most Burning Problem

Why Do Asians Fear The US?

By SANTHA RAMA RAU AND FAUBION BOWERS

The authors (left & right) with a friend and Ma-Pu-Fang, Dictator of Ching-Hai Province.

Santha Rama Rau is the youthful and attractive daughter of Sir Benegal Rama Rau, former Indian Ambassador to the US. A Wellesley graduate, she is the author of "West of Home" (Harper's).

Faubion Bowers, Oklahoma-born expert on the Far East speaks five Asiatic languages. Before the war he taught at Tokyo's Hosei University, during the war he fought in the Pacific Theater, and after the war he was Aide to General MacArthur and Chief Censor of Japanese Theater.

Most Americans take it for granted that their country is well known to the Asian masses. This may come as an unexpected shock to these confident Americans, but the truth is exactly the opposite.

The overwhelming majority of the Asians have no clear conceptions whatever concerning the United States, its people, its outstanding personalities, its geography, its particular civilization, its philosophy of life. Furthermore, the restricted circle of the more or less well informed Asians, —statesmen and intellectuals—is on the whole disillusioned and confused regarding those things the US has accomplished in Asia since the end of the war.

Recently we completed a journey of many thousands of miles which lasted two years and took us into the interior as well as to the capital cities of every Asian country between Japan and India. Wherever we went, and whether we talked to sturdy peasants among the hills of Northern China, to housewives along the picturesque canals of Bangkok, or to shopkeepers in Indonesia, we encountered the selfsame reaction to America: mistrust grounded on ignorance.

Characteristic of this attitude was an experience we had in Southwest China. One night we stopped in a small village, and found that only an encampment of Nationalist soldiers could offer us shelter. Soon the men surrounded us and as our North Chinese was as incomprehensible to them as their South Chinese was to us, we were forced to resort to writing (the only real *lingua franca* in the vast country of China) to exchange ideas.

Upon learning that one of us was American, a soldier proceeded to demonstrate what he had been taught about America by his officers. He wrote out laboriously on a sheet of paper: "President of the United States of America, Roosevelt, Truman."

He grinned and exhausted by the effort, put down the pencil triumphantly. But it was all he knew. He had memorized the title and the names, but could add nothing. He had no conception of the aims and motives of these men nor of their policies and attitudes toward China. We discovered there was the same blank in the minds of the rest of the soldiers who were staring with curiosity at us — strangers with unusual skins and long noses.

In India we often heard a wisecrack which is not funny to Americans, but which has its unconscious significance. "Oh, America," the saying goes. "I know. That's the place Columbus found when he was looking for India."

The humor of that crack may seem doubtful. It means, however, that it is permissible not to know much about the US—that there is little time left over from their own problems and struggle for a living to spend on interpreting America and Americans.

Against this background of unconcern, there are of course numerous groups in Asia which have information and express opinions about America. These groups include students, writers, politicians and intellectuals. Their views may conflict in many respects but they have one

Why Do Asians Fear The US?

trait in common. They are invariably disappointing to Americans.

Before the war, anti-Americanism was rare in Asia. Today it is expressed mainly on four scores.

The United States is accused of not helping, and occasionally of hampering Asian people in their struggle for national independence.

It is repeated that ignorance of local conditions leads to decisions by America which are contrary to the wishes and interests of the people.

An attitude of racial superiority is generally ascribed to most Americans.

There is fear of unilateral American intervention reminiscent of old-time imperialism.

The first of these points was clearly illustrated for us by the members of the Free Government of Laos—in exile in Bangkok.

Laos, a province of Indochina, was occupied during the war by the Japanese, to whom the French had capitulated. In the months that followed, the American OSS established contact with Laotian leaders and in collaboration with them formed an anti-Japanese underground.

ASIA'S NEHRU: "Any attempt to solve the problems of Asia without taking Asia into consideration can not succeed."

Among the most brilliant of the underground leaders was a tall, slight, gentle-faced young Laotian named Thao-Oun. It was he who one night explained to us why his people is so bitterly disappointed with America's present role in Asia.

"During those days in the underground," he said, "we thought that the Americans came as liberators. They had the reputation of sponsoring the cause of subject people. They had freed the Philippines. They were against colonialism. But after the defeat of Japan, the US showed its true intent."

Why Laos Grieves

According to the melancholy Laotian, this is what happened. After the Japanese were eliminated, the underground fighters were ready to form the first free government of Laos. At that moment, however, the US and the other allies permitted the French troops to return and reconquer Laos and the rest of Indochina by force of arms.

"We had daily risked our lives for our freedom," Thao-Oun said. "But now the colonial regime was reimposed on us with American aid. Do you wonder that we can no longer accept the word of the Americans without reservations?"

This reaction was duplicated in every country of Southeast Asia. Free Cambodians, Indonesians, even the gentle Balinese wondered why America stood by coldly while their freedom was menaced or annihilated by soldiers from far-away countries.

Often America's vacillating role in Asia was attributed to ignorance, and lack of understanding. While we were in Indonesia, President Sukarno gave a press conference to a group of American correspondents who were touring the country under Dutch auspices. The very first question put to him was: "Did you collaborate with the Japanese during the war?"

Sukarno threw a brooding glance at the interviewer, and then, without answering the question, promptly left the conference.

When we asked a government official for an explanation of the incident, here is what he said:

"The President felt that he was wasting his time. He just couldn't start explaining the history and the psychology of colonialism. If Americans haven't yet learned that a slave owes no loyalty to his oppressors, but only to the achievement of his freedom, if they still ask why some of us supported in the war not the Dutch but the Japanese, our fellow Orientals, then there is no basis for mutual understanding."

This problem, so important in post-war Asia, was put for us into an even sharper focus by a leading Siamese statesman, Prince Kukrit Pramoj. Three times a cabinet minister, he is the only politician of his country able to attract a crowd large enough to be called a "mass rally."

When we asked him why Siam collaborated with Japan with the war, he shrugged and shot back at us:

"And what loyalty do we owe to America?"

We tried to argue that the question was not loyalty to America, but resistance to totalitarianism. But the Prince shook his head.

"Perhaps it seemed to us that there were greater dangers in allying ourselves with the West than in totalitarianism," he said. "To many millions of Asians the war in the Pacific meant the white man fighting the colored."

Jim Crow in Asia

This question of color, of course, is one that contributes mightily to the confusion of the Asians regarding the fundamental attitude of America toward the Eastern nations.

Particularly since the war, the US has endeavored to persuade Asians that democracy and the American way of life are good and desirable things. The consciousness that a color line still exists in the US has made it difficult to reconcile words with deeds.

Asians who have been students in the US return home to report that the condition of Negroes, while it

may be improving, is still far from ideal. Moreover, it is known that the Japanese and Koreans are called "gooks" by GIs and people in more responsible positions. Even American consular officials dare not entertain "natives" too frequently, for fear of being branded "gook-lovers," or whatever its equivalent is in diplomatic language.

Many American clubs in the Far East refuse to admit nationals of the country itself. These and similar social insults have been associated with imperialist rule for so long that their recurrence causes Asians to doubt whether the tenets of American democracy are meant to apply to themselves.

The greatest puzzle of all is the American policy toward China. When we were in Peiping in 1948, we found that the students of its several universities, comprising a well-informed and politically conscious group, were intensely concerned for the future of their country and that of Asia. They were completely at a loss to explain many of Washington's decisions concerning the Far East. It is not going too far to say that the absence of a clear-cut American policy, realistically based on facts available to Washington and acceptable to the liberal intellectuals, was the main reason why they went over to Mao, throwing into the bargain all the tremendous moral and spiritual influence they represented.

These students were confused and irritated by three aspects of the complex problem. They were unable to understand why America was helping Japan so extensively in building up its industry and raising its living standard while China, which had been on the side of the US in the war, got no similar help. They wondered why the US insisted on pouring fortunes into the hands of the Nationalists when the best informed American advisers themselves declared over and over again that this was money down the rathole. And they accused the US of letting down the liberal and progressive elements in China, by whom the tide of Communism might then have been rolled back.

This last point was put to us more recently with blunt frankness by the brilliant playright Hsia Yen, known as China's Chekov, over the luncheon table one day in Hong Kong.

"We genuine liberals would have cooperated gladly with any group working for democracy in China," Hsia Yen said. "But America continued to back the Nationalists who threw liberals into prison as a matter of routine. So the liberals either escaped to Communist North China or took refuge in Hong Kong, meaning bitter exile. I chose the latter. But many chose the other way out. Thus liberalism was extinguished in China. Tell me, why is it that America always seems to back the wrong horse in Asia?"

Remote Control by the U.S.?

From this argument, it is a short enough step to another reaction which we heard very often in Asia. Perhaps it was expressed most succinctly by a Chinese school teacher in the Northwestern province of Kansu.

"If Americans want to buy their protection from Asia," he said, "and back governments and parties which serve the American purpose, how can they be surprised if many of us consider them imperialistic?"

Perhaps it was the same idea that Jawaharlal Nehru had in mind when he said only a few days ago that while the old forms of empire are dead, new types of colonialism or controlism are becoming apparent.

"The fate of Asia is still being determined by statesmen of the western world," he observed. "I wish to point out that any attempt to solve the problems of Asia without taking Asia into consideration cannot succeed."

Thus, Asian evaluation of America's present role in the Far East is apt to be negative. Yet this trend need not be fatal, since underneath the confusion and disappointment linger memories of pre-war sympathies.

The great traditions of freedom and equality which epitomize America's history are still remembered in Asia and they represent a persuasive influence on the minds of Asia's leaders. Lincoln, in particular, still has an overwhelming impact on the imagination of the Orient. When President Sukarno described the Indonesian struggle for independence, he characterized it in the following terms: "I tried to synthesize the conceptions of Lincoln with the technique of India."

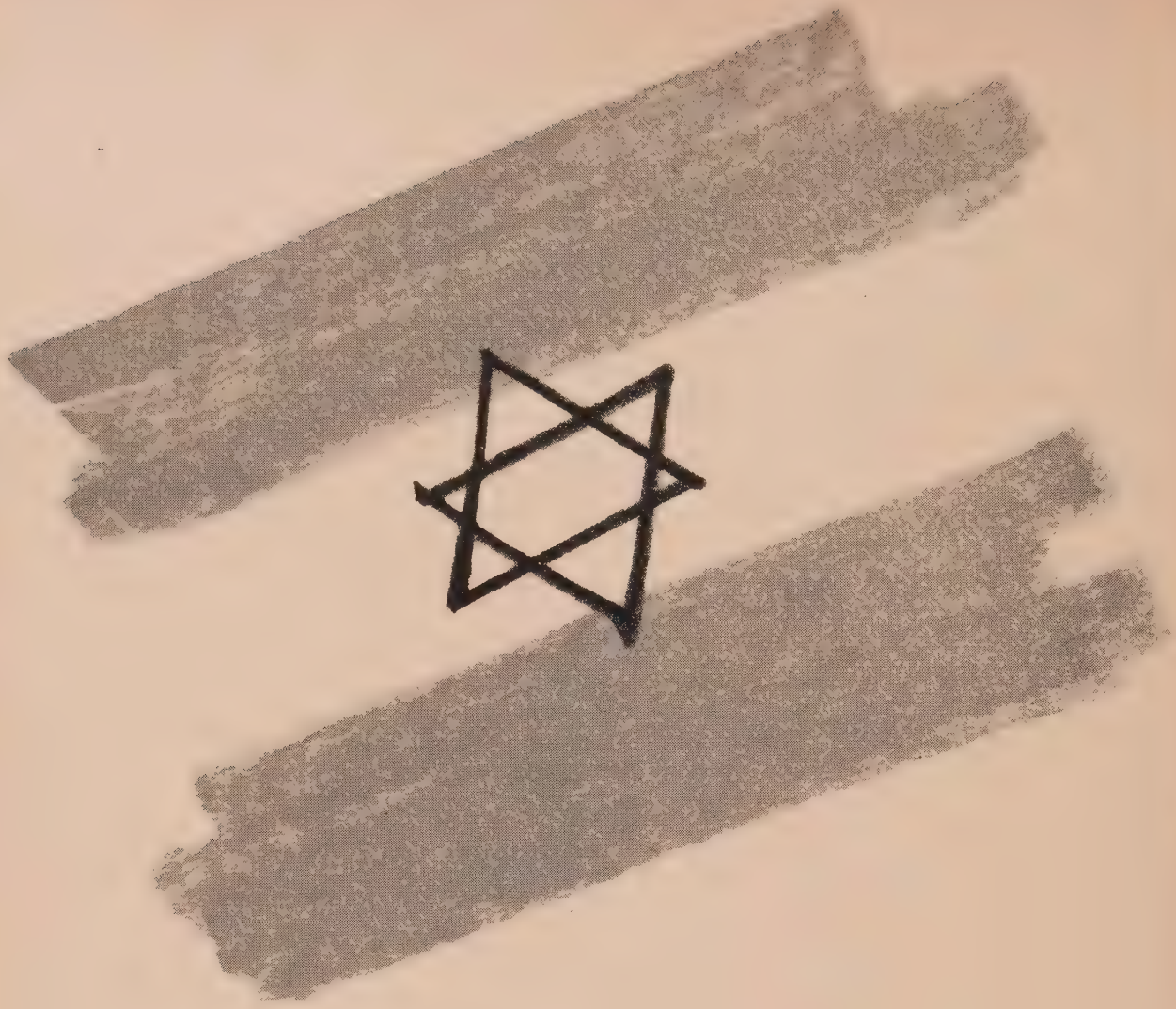
Such sympathies are deep and lasting and it may not be too late for America to clarify its position in Asia and regain its full moral prestige. But the need for greater mutual understanding is urgent. Events move fast, faster than the deliberations of politicians.

Today's battle is not so much for territories or forms of government but for the soul of Asia. And the US must prove to the Asians that it has understood all the implications of this historic fact.

The Battle in Asia is for 1,162,881,111 souls

Populations in the Far East

Pakistan	75,000,000
India	337,211,000
Ceylon	6,879,000
Nepal	7,000,000
China	463,493,418
Tibet	1,000,000
Burma	16,823,798
Thailand (Siam)	17,666,000
Indochina	25,000,000
Federation of Malaya	4,908,000
Straits Settlements	1,435,895
Indonesia	76,000,000
Philippines	19,964,000
Japan	80,500,000
Korea	30,000,000



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KAISER★FRAZER EXPORT CORPORATION, *Willow Run, Michigan, U.S.A.*

By being on the side of the consumer, Gottlieb Duttweiler became a stormy petrel and a multimillionaire.

Success Story of a Swiss

By HARRY KURSH

After centuries of tranquil national unity in Switzerland, there appeared in 1925, a Swiss named Gottlieb Duttweiler. He soon revealed such radical business, political and social ideas that he was immediately dubbed "The American."

Since then, in one aspect at least, Switzerland is no longer emotionally neutral. It is a nation divided: half against Duttweiler, half for him. Where Duttweiler is concerned there is no neutrality.

It all began shortly after World War I when Switzerland, cut off from food supply sources, had witnessed a phenomenal rise in its cost of food items, about half of which it still has to import. Just returned from Brazil, where he unsuccessfully tried to operate a coffee plantation to pay off debts resulting from a previous business bankruptcy in Switzerland, Duttweiler felt that at least 30 per cent of the high cost of food in his home country was due to inefficient merchandising—a lesson he had acquired in Brazil.

He believed that the distance between food processing and merchandising had to be shortened. So with five converted model "T" Fords, he began "Migros," a grocery business on wheels. He felt that if the Swiss housewife would yield to a little inconvenience by doing business with a mobile food van, he could save her up to thirty per cent on her grocery bill. Duttweiler's Migros — his own word, a combination of *engros,* meaning wholesale, and *demi-gros,* not wholesale but better than retail—advertised announcements to this effect. He published schedules as to the times and places his caravan of food stores would appear.

The Swiss housewife, it seems, was eager to undergo a little inconvenience. In the space of less than a dozen eventful years, he was doing a business of $4,000,000. Last year, Migros business neared the $50,000,000 mark.

In establishing his incredible business, however, Duttweiler did not achieve success without opposition from many sides, stimulated mostly by conservative business combinations who had sensed that his novel technique would threaten their "business-as-usual" habits.

When police arrested his Migros drivers in Basle, Duttweiler took the case to the highest court—and won. When the same thing happened in Berne, the Swiss Federal capital, he hired airplanes and poured leaflets on the city to tell his side of the story. This publicity stunt, unheard of for the phlegmatic Swiss, made Duttweiler the subject of sharply divided opinion. Soon a nationwide

is obligated to bridge the gap between socialism and capitalism by turning its profits back to the consumer and worker in the form of socially useful projects.

In 1943, a mountain railroad that had been transporting Swiss vacationists up a picturesque peak in southern Switzerland was threatened with bankruptcy. It was scheduled for liquidation, and its tracks were to be torn up for scrap. Duttweiler led a movement to buy the railroad and turn it into a cooperative. With Duttweiler publicized behind the scheme, 4,300 small shareholders signed up. Two years later traffic on the railroad was up 300 per cent and a four per cent dividend was paid annually. Says Duttweiler, "Our shareholders, who get an annual free ride, are our best business agents."

Not long ago he was involved in one of his most unique "wars," a war of flowers. He was disturbed by the high cost of flowers in Switzerland, a nation where hardly a home or apartment is without its own backyard or window-sill garden. He sent an agent to Italy to investigate rumors of "surplus" winter flowers. Soon Migros food markets were inundated with carloads of carnations, mimosas and roses, and in a few weeks zooming sales added to his "problem" of what to do with greater profits.

A Producer Is Born

When the tiny Swiss motion picture industry was striving to enter the highly competitive field of full-length feature films, Duttweiler recalls: "We helped them out with capital and we found for them thousands of small shareholders and many friends among influential people."

The first product of this venture, a film called "Marie-Louise," was the first foreign film to receive an "Oscar" from the American Academy of Motion Picture Awards. This was followed by "The Last Chance," a multi-lingual motion picture depicting the plight of war refugees trying to reach sanctuary in Switzerland, which won two "Oscars," and was a smashing success in America.

Eleven years ago, when Swiss hotels, normally dependent on a thriving tourist business, were experiencing hard times, Duttweiler's Migros founded the *Hotel-Plan*. By chartering travel and vacation facilities on the same mass basis as Migros merchandising, *Hotel-Plan* figured it could allow lower-income groups to take more vacations and travel more extensively. Within a year *Hotel-Plan* poured an extra $10,000,000 into hotel coffers, gave birth to new hotels, and established its own offices in London, Amsterdam and Brussels. A New York office was recently incorporated.

The Champ

Duttweiler, who likes to describe himself as a "politician of the heart," was originally a member of Switzerland's lower parliamentary house for several years. His election to the upper house came in 1948, at a time when another one of his unpredictable moves led observers to declare: "Duttweiler will now disappear from Swiss public life." While campaigning for the upper house seat, Duttweiler was in the midst of a libel suit in which this time he was the defendant. He was under charges brought by high Swiss Army officials whom he had accused rather subtly of underhanded dealings with a business trust. He was not concerned about the outcome, Duttweiler discloses, if he could succeed in bringing the trust under public scrutiny. He lost the case and his enemies said, "That's the end of Duttweiler." But the inexorable grocer-philosopher-teacher-editor-politician Duttweiler insisted he had won a moral victory. His opponents were in for a severe shock: in a three-cornered race he got the largest vote, but not a sufficient majority; in the subsequent run-offs he won by getting fifty-six per cent of the votes.

Not content with achieving one of the highest political honors possible in the centuries-old republic, where direct democracy still exists in some cantons, Duttweiler persists in using the spectacular tactics that first earned him the nickname, "American."

At a recent session of the Swiss parliament, Duttweiler, annoyed with what he charged was a lengthy, talkative affair, was unable to introduce a motion. Acting on a momentary inspiration to draw attention to his position, he strode out of the parliament building, gathered two stones the size of his fist, re-entered the building and threw them through two windows. The "incident" created a nationwide sensation. Sentiment for and against Duttweiler became more acutely divided than ever.

Federal officials, not eager to make a martyr out of him, instead of prosecuting Duttweiler on a Federal law—which would have meant perhaps a heavy fine and jail sentence—dropped the whole affair into the hands of the local officials. They said it was the duty of the Public Works Department to keep up public buildings and make any necessary repairs, so Duttweiler got off with a small fine. But the publicity he received is now drawing keen attention to his political ideas.

No Big, Bad Wolf

His opposition now insists that Duttweiler is a "big man who wants to be a dictator," or some kind of tyrant. This is the kind of vituperation on which Duttweiler thrives. But perhaps he understands the liberty-loving Swiss better.

"The Swiss," he declares, "hate a 'great man' or a 'big man.' They are a temperate people, and will not tolerate the 'important man.' And that is a very good instinct in them. It is a great and necessary corrective. I thoroughly agree with them!"

Recalling Switzerland's long delay in joining the League of Nations, and the great haste with which they withdrew from the League when it appeared that imminence of war threatened their traditional neutrality, many Swiss believe today that if they join the United Nations a very "important man" will be behind it. That man could be Gottlieb Duttweiler.

boycott of his products was started. Migros patrons were molested, and Migros suppliers found other customers shying away. For the first time in Swiss history, local laws specifically designed against an individual were passed when his vans were forbidden in certain towns. His opponents finally succeeded in passing a Federal law which was calculated to prevent further expansion of Migros retail establishments.

It was this opposition, however, that made Duttweiler a startling figure in a country that has never known one since William Tell became their national hero seven centuries ago.

A bulky, broad-shouldered man, less than 5-feet-9 and weighing nearly 250 pounds, Duttweiler threw himself into the fight with the strength of an elephant and the agility of a cat.

Leading a herd of faithful followers, he went from village to village and city to city with what his opponents soon discovered was an endless reservoir of wit and energy. For example, when he flooded Berne with leaflets from the air he not only told the people what he was trying to do, but told them that if they felt he was right they should endorse his views by sending him two-cent money orders through the post office. The next day thousands of irate housewives snarled postal facilities with more than enough money orders to pay the fine that had been imposed on him by the city of Berne.

From street corner to street corner he fought back. When he tried to make speeches, he found politicians against him. That made him go into politics. Against the advice of his associates, he founded the *Landesring*, an independent consumer's political party. Today, at the head of the party, the sixty-two-year-old political comet represents Zurich, the largest city, in Switzerland's upper chamber. There are eight other members of the *Landesring* in the Swiss parliament.

When he tried to get newspaper advertising on a large scale, he collided with unsympathetic publishers. So he decided to go into journalism. He started *Die Tat*, an independent daily newspaper which is today one of the largest in a country that has more newspapers per capita than any other country in the world. In addition, for Migros enthusiasts, he published *Wir Brüchenbauer*, (We Bridge Builders), a weekly which now goes free to 150,000 of his faithful.

Giving Away a Fortune

By 1941, when Duttweiler's Migros was grossing $40,000,000 annually, he sent for his lawyers. With characteristic impulsiveness, he announced: "Prepare papers for me to give the entire business away."

To his stunned legal council, he added: "Yes, I want to show the people who have believed in me all these years that I am going to keep my promise. Make Migros a cooperative. Give every faithful follower an equal share and voice in the business. From now on, where there are high prices we shall form cooperatives to bring down the cost of living."

By this time Migros owned 150 retail shops and more than a hundred mobile vans, slick massive trucks which he invented himself and are identified all over Switzerland by huge "M's" lettered on their sides. The original model "T" Fords are now museum pieces, and a board of directors guide Migros policies for over 100,000 equal shareholders. Duttweiler had amassed a personal fortune of $5,000.000, was drawing a salary of $90,000 and owned one of Switzerland's most picturesque estates on Lake Zurich.

All his business ventures were joined in a Federation of Migros Cooperatives; consumer shareholders elected him President, and he voluntarily set his salary at one-tenth of what he had been drawing previously. His estate is now a public park, alongside of which he built a first-class hotel with third-class rates for workers.

To prevent his antagonists from accusing him of doing this to avoid taxes, Duttweiler and his wife moved into a typical middleclass two-room flat in Zurich. His wife does all the cooking and cleaning and secretly admits that she enjoys every moment of it. Duttweiler himself owns a two-passenger Fiat and drives himself wherever he has to go. Though he still has his private fortune, the only luxuries he allows himself are good food and good cigars.

Duttweiler, whose business acumen speaks for itself, has been accused of being everything from a Socialist to a cunning capitalist. But in excellent English he vehemently insists he is neither. He calls his philosophy "social-capitalism." And he bases it on three principles: more for the consumer, more for the producer, more for the worker.

To protect his adherence to capitalism, he says, "I am not ashamed to confess that as a result of these principles, in the final analysis there will be more also for the distributor. This proves our system has nothing to do with altruism."

An Idea Worth 20 Million

Smiling with an innocence that would disarm his most violent critic, Duttweiler adds: "After all, I made a fortune of 20,000,000 francs. There must be something behind my idea."

Duttweiler, who personally paid back every penny of a $100,000 bankrupt debt balance for which he had only been partially responsible, proudly keeps a scrapbook of writings in which he has been assaulted with such epithets as "Judas," "Food Führer," "Napoleon," "Little Goering," and "American Bluffer." Fighting back has brought him into court probably more times than any other living man in Europe. One book, "Duttweiler, X-Rayed," pretended to give complete revelations of him as Switzerland's vilest scoundrel. He took the publishers and authors to court and won a lawsuit for libel. The fine awarded to him, however, was slight, since it was difficult to prove the extent of damages. The book had been circulating with black market secrecy.

Although the Swiss ordinarily are wary of much-advertised personalities or projects, publicity for Duttweiler has helped any enterprise he has ever touched turn into a fabulous goose of gold. According to his "social-capital" theory—from which all his exploits are now branded with the picture of a bridge as a trademark—any successful big business enterprise

Ripples At Lake Success

BUSINESS was booming at Lake Success last month, not only for the Sperry Gyroscope plant, which was filling rush orders for the US Army, but also for its tenant and neighbor, the United Nations.

Visitors from nine to ninety years of age stood in long lines patiently waiting for passes, while officials hurried through the conference rooms and corridors wearing deep frowns.

This public awareness and anxiety also was reflected in hundreds of letters pouring into the Secretary General's office from all over the globe. "The type of letter we are receiving now is something entirely new," said Miss Helen Gordon, who handles informal correspondence. "Instead of the regular crop of requests for information, crank letters, and general praise or condemnation, we are now hearing from business men, housewives and office clerks, in short — from the man in the street. These are the sort of people who don't ordinarily write to us."

To many people the Secretary General of the United Nations has become much more than a well-known official. Ever since his European trip it is usual to think of Trygve Lie as the people's representative in the field of world politics. Many are the letters that refer to him as the "last hope," or just as a "beloved friend." Letters are frequently addressed to "my dear friend," often followed by an apology for the presumption. Mr. Lie had a touching comment in a recent Open Letter to his correspondents: "Some of you have referred to me in your letters as 'my dear friend.' You know, I like that best of all. It makes me feel that we are all friends.

AS THE unabated stream of visitors poured into Lake Success to witness the Security Council at work, many made it their business to explore all places open to the public and some that are not. One elderly lady became extremely interested in the little flags sold on the cafeteria newsstand. "What are all these?" she inquired. "Aren't they pretty! And which country does this one belong to?" she pointed to the UN flag. It was explained to her that this was the *United Nations* flag. "How nice!" she said thoughtfully. "But — blue doesn't match my living room. What other colors does it come in?"

UNDER pressure of their function to acquaint the world with the work of the United Nations, members of the staff of the Department of Public Information are bending busily over their microphones, typewriters, telephones and recording machines. Once in a while they think back nostalgically to the biggest day DPI has ever lived—the day of the DPI Staff party.

The party was crowned by a little skit presented by UN radio people, poking good-natured fun at their colleagues and the work performed by them. One of the featured attractions was "George Burgundy, the master

Stars of th

USSR's Yakov A. Malik

interpreter" (played by George Sherry, member of the UN Interpretation Division) who would translate "every single language into any other language." "Mr. Burgundy" was asked to give a demonstration, and was presented with one of Mr. Manuilsky's speeches recorded *backwards*. "As is well known," Mr. Burgundy began, after a few moments hesitation, "this is a crude violation of the Charter. This evil clique of warmongers consisting of reactionary circles in the United States and the United Kingdom . . ." At this fluent translation, the announcer pretended to be surprised. Mr. Burgundy assured him it was really nothing to translate backwards. "I can translate *sidewise* too!" he said.

Secretariat members laughed long and loud over an imaginary "Answer man" who responded to queries about the United Nations. The following is a sample item.

A man "wrote in" about an argument he had had with his wife in which she claimed the UN Secretariat consisted of only 1,100 members, while he himself asserted there were 3,000 odd men and women working for the United Nations. He wanted information.

"*You* are *absolutely right*," declared the answer man. "There *are* 3,000 *odd* men and women in the Secretariat. Some are odder than others. For instance, Press and Publications."

When diplomatic business grows pressing, consultations among delegations become frequent. Last month, small conference rooms, offices and lounges were filled with huddles of delegates, junior delegates, delegation assistants, observers, advisers and secretaries, all engaged in frantic discussions and last-minute policy talks. This is an open and accepted practice, although occasionally consultations do take place in an atmosphere of conspiratorial secrecy.

One such conference, involving two top-level diplomats, has become a classic in UN Radio circles, since it is the only case on record at Lake Success of a microphone being made to talk back. This operation is a favorite trick in the repertoire of most crack radio technicians, but is rarely used. On this occasion a UN engineer was repairing a radio booth adjoining a small conference chamber where two distinguished gentlemen were whispering and gesticulating in front of a microphone someone had left open.

The delegates were just about concluding an agreement when an eerie voice emerged from the mike. "Gentlemen!" it whispered, "the walls have ears. *Every word* you say is being overheard."

The delegates grabbed their papers and rushed out of the room.

August was the month of the last U. N. Interne Program for 1950. Internes are young men and women selected in contests the world over, who come to spend two months working with the United Nations, in order to return to their own countries so much the richer in knowledge and experience. Countries represented ranged from Ethiopia and Poland to Saudi Arabia and Austria.

"I'll be sorry to see them go," said Mr. G. N. T. Widdrington of Canada, who handles these programs, "they are positively the *nicest* bunch I've had yet." He says that every time.

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, now taking a well-earned vacation from her many United Nations duties, is known at Lake Success as the most human of delegates. She shakes hands with messengers, flashes friendly smiles all about the place, and her modesty is proverbial.

Among visitors, admiration for Mrs. Roosevelt sometimes approaches idolatry. One extreme case involved the chairman of a women's club, who went up to the rostrum after a meeting of the Human Rights Commission, and succeeded in shaking Mrs. Roosevelt's hand. Five minutes later, in the corridor, the thirty-nine members of the club were seen lined up shaking the hand that shook the hand of Mrs. Roosevelt.

Great Show

USA's Warren R. Austin

HANS TOCH

Germ Warfare, United Nations Style

By MORTON SONTHEIMER
Former City Editor, The San Francisco News

HIGH in the hills of Haiti we climb out of a jeep and bend over to enter the low hut of a Voodoo witch doctor.

"*Bon jour,* Papaloa, Father of Spirits," says our guide, a native physician. "We are sent to you by many great nations of the world. We make no quarrel with your spirits, with the teas you brew or the good herbs you prescribe. Rather, we bring a new magic to help heal your people, a miraculous fluid that will drive the crippling sores of dread *pian* from all Haiti.

"On behalf of the wise fathers of your country and the Nations United, I urge you to spread the word to every man, woman and child to assemble here on the morrow and receive, with your blessing, the new magic."

The "*pian*" of which the physician talks is a disease American doctors call yaws, and the words he speaks are the truth, for he is one of a group of medical men who have been sent by two United Nations agencies in a new plan of disease eradication that may wipe from the face of the earth not only yaws but syphilis. In Haiti recently I talked with the scientists who are conducting this novel and hopeful campaign. I also saw enough of the disease to make me realize what a blessing it will be for the Haitians if they succeed.

Previous eradication programs have been aimed at disease *carriers,* such as rats or mosquitoes, or have sought to immunize healthy populations by vaccination. This time the disease fighters are combatting a germ itself. They plan to stamp it out in a whole nation by mass injections of penicillin.

The plan offers the first hope of total victory against the germ called Treponema, or spirochete, which causes a group of diseases that have plagued humanity for centuries. To Americans the most familiar of these scourges is syphilis. In Haiti, the most widespread is yaws, which is literally devouring the flesh and bone of millions of people throughout the West Indies, or South Pacific Islands, in Central and South America, the Philippines, Australia, the Far East and Africa. A third disease, bejel, covers the children of the desert Arabs with consuming sores, and in Central and South America and the West Indies, pinto, fourth member of this dread clan ravages the skins of thousands of people.

Targets: Syphilis and Yaws

The bacteria that cause all four diseases cannot be distinguished from each other under the microscope, and they all wither under the same treatment. But only one of them, syphilis, is a venereal disease. The others are innocently spread by casual contact. In Haiti, where there is considerable syphilis as well as yaws, the mass injections should obliterate both. That was the objective of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and the UN's World Health Organization in launching their first campaign there.

Yaws, pinto and bejel thrive amidst primitive unsanitary conditions where the people are unaccustomed to washing with ordinary soap. The limits of Haiti's modern cities, for instance, are virtually a dividing line between yaws and syphilis—although syphilis is rampant in the cities, yaws is rarely seen.

In the United States, syphilis once afflicted as many as one of every ten persons. It was this country's fight against venereal disease that led to the campaign now under way. American scientists began getting good results against both syphilis and gonorrhea with penicillin in 1943, and subsequently the venereal diseases have been losing their vicious grip here. Then, early in 1947, the Bristol Laboratories, medical arm of the Bristol-Myers Co., developed procaine penicillin in oil and aluminum monostearate, a preparation that keeps the penicillin in the bloodstream long enough for a single dose to kill the Treponema of syphilis. For years that had been the goal of anti-V.D. crusaders. Without some quick treatment any mass cure was impractical.

Dr. Delmas K. Kitchen, Medical Director of Bristol Laboratories, worked on the penicillin technique at Bellevue Hospital, New York City, with a group which included Dr. Charles R. Rein, an assistant professor of syphilology and former Army Medical Corps officer. Rein had spent months in Haiti during the last war experimenting on yaws treatments for the Army. Kitchen and Rein decided to try the new treatment on yaws.

When they reached the colorful island southeast of Cuba, they found few facts with which to start. Estimates as to the toll of yaws ran as high as 70 to 80 per cent of the rural population. But this country, where the Negro slaves revolted from the

French 146 years ago and established their own republic, has never had a national census, so such statistics are guesswork. Yet the disease is so prevalent that it is common for one country woman to ask another, "Has the baby had its yaws yet?"

The American Sanitary Mission sent to Haiti by our State Department during the war had been waging a courageous fight, almost single-handed, against yaws, but its only weapons were arsenic and bismuth, the old treatment for syphilis. It was slow, expensive, painful. The Haitian mother might carry and toddle her eight or ten children down from the hills to the clinic once, but, like Americans with syphilis, they often failed to complete the difficult cure.

New Under Haiti's Sun

Into these clinics run by the American Sanitary Mission and the Haitian Government, Kitchen and Rein carted cases of penicillin and began treating yaws. They enlisted the aid of Haitian doctors from the capital city of Port-au-Prince and ran the job with such American intensity that a local newspaper came out with the startling headline: HAITIAN DOCTORS WORK ALL DAY! In a tropical country where all work ceases at 1 or 2 p.m., this was virtually without precedent.

Dr. Kitchen recalls with mingled sorrow and wonder the beginnings of that whirlwind campaign. Shortly after the work got under way he noticed a group of sad-eyed, silent children looking on. "What's the matter with those kids?" he asked a Haitian colleague. "In the United States they'd be chattering and running about like mad." The Haitian explained that these children were waiting to be treated for yaws. A few days after they had received their shots Dr. Kitchen happily watched them laughing and playing.

To encourage patients, the Americans paid them ten cents a day, United States money. At that price, healthy peasants tried to convince them they had yaws, for the great mass of Haitians earn an average of less than two cents a day. But the payments were hardly necessary. Soon the populace saw sickly lethargic semi-invalids transformed into healthy, happy men and women, their yaws gone. They saw a woman paralyzed by gaping yaws lesions that had eaten to the bone of arms and legs brought in across a donkey's back, and ten days later watched her move her hands and feet.

Then they began clamoring at the clinics for "*piqué*," the native word for prick from the hypodermic needle. They tugged at the doctors' clothes, crowded the steamy health centers so tight that the physicians had to push them out the doors to have room enough to work.

Long sufferers, many of them still young people, dragged themselves in with flesh and bone so eroded that noses, palates or whole jaws were gone. For these, penicillin could arrest the disease but it could not restore what had been eaten away. Yet in the earlier stages it did close cavernous sores.

Cases of the dreadful "crab yaws," which so festers the soles of the feet that its victims move like a crab, came crawling down the mountainside for "*piqué*." Many were bleeding from tortured travels of two days' duration. One, a boy who had not walked for 11 years, was able to stand and take steps a week after he had come in on hands and knees.

Altogether, Kitchen, Rein and their associates in Haiti injected 3000 persons. But Rein, who was compiling the results, had to have repeated blood tests of the same people for at least a year. They entrusted this job to Dr. Edouard A. Pétrus, a tireless Haitian physician who had worked alongside them in the study.

This was a staggering undertaking in rural Haiti. There are no addresses to begin with, and, to his dismay, Pétrus found that vague doubts about the doctors' motives had caused many of the early patients to give false names. For months he tracked them down, by automobile where there were roads, by boat along the coast, by horseback or afoot on the mountainsides. He finally rounded up blood samples of 787 of the treated patients after 12 months, enough for a report in the *American Journal of Investigative Dermatology*. The results proved the penicillin treatment more than 90 percent effective.

Dr. Soper has an Inspiration

This report interested Dr. Fred L. Soper, Regional Director of the World Health Organization. Soper has a worldwide reputation as a disease eradicationist. In Egypt and South America he had planned the campaigns that drove back yellow fever and malaria. Here he saw an opportunity to come to grips with the twin menace of yaws and syphilis in an entire population.

He took the plan to the United Nations Children's Fund, pointing out that three-fourths of the victims of yaws are children. The Fund appropriated $319,165 for the project. Then the Haitian Government had to request the campaign and share its cost. Haiti is a poor country. For the estimated three and a half million population there is only eight million dollars in circulation. But the country is a vacation paradise and one of its best bids for needed dollars is the American tourist trade. Tourists never see the yaws cases in the beautiful hills, nor are they in any danger from them. Yet to advertise to the world Haiti's yaws, and its syphilis rate, which is probably no higher than in many other countries, might destroy the travel campaign on which Haiti had staked so much.

Despite these economic pressures,

MOTHER watches happily as the scared little Haitian fellow gets procain penicillin injection at the Damien schoolhouse.

the Government pledged its share, $213,850. The World Health Organization sent experts to Haiti, and Dr. Pétrus was made director of the campaign.

Last July the combined forces started a sweep of the country with injection teams of technicians giving penicillin shots to every yaws and syphilis sufferer and every one suspected. The sweep, expected to take two years, is to be followed by a careful ferreting campaign into the homes of those who might have been missed the first time. Finally, the American State Department's Sanitary Mission expects to remain on sentry duty with the clinics, guarding against recurrences or new infections.

Scientific Pied Pipers

The undertaking is immensely difficult. Some medical opinion still doubts the efficacy of one-shot penicillin treatments on the grounds they are too new to have proved themselves. But overshadowing that are the physical problems of reaching every case in the country.

The Haitian peasant lives not so much in villages as in isolated huts on the tops and sides of mountains, wherever he can find a productive patch of ground. Sometimes his field is so steep that he tills it while suspended from a rope at a 60-degree angle. Most peasants cannot read or write, and of course they have no radios.

So, without radio announcements or newspaper stories or even posted notices, the eradication teams must find these people and induce them to submit to their needles. They are staging old-fashioned medicine shows to bring the natives into treatment centers. As a final inducement they are offering each patient injected a bright red package. In it is a cake of soap saturated with, as one doctor puts it, "the loudest smelling perfume we could find." For many of the peasants, it is a complete novelty.

Specialists have said that plenty of soap and water alone could eradicate yaws. But whether the soap gifts will be effective is questionable. When an American doctor expressed horror at unsanitary conditions, a Haitian colleague remarked, "See those houses way up on the mountain? Well, doctor, you just put a gallon of water on your head and try carrying it up to one of them as these people do, then tell me how much you'd use for cleaning even if you could afford a week's earnings for a bar of soap."

Many peasants will not come to the mobile treatment centers because they live several days' walk away and cannot neglect their paltry fields. Also, the Haitian is proud, and often stays away because he is ashamed of his clothes. These people will have to be tracked down.

But there are good omens for the campaigners, too. A large percentage of Haitians may be illiterate but they are not stupid. They learn quickly, and, once they know the seriousness of the early yaws sore, they are pitifully eager for treatment.

Above all, these primitive inlanders have some tricks that awe the doctors as much as the doctors' penicillin awes them, principally their mysterious and almost instantaneous means of communication. Not long ago the American Sanitary Mission arrived by boat, without notice, at a completely undeveloped point along the coast to open a treatment center. It was 4 p.m. and they asked a *houngon*, or Voodoo witch doctor, to get word to the surrounding people to come in for treatment. They heard drums in the hills that night and when they opened up the next morning at 7:30 there were nearly 5000 persons waiting.

Medicine Men Join Parade

The witch doctors used to be hostile to physicians in white suits who perform without regard to the spirits. Although educated Haitians are contemptuous of these spirit fathers with their rituals dating back to the African jungle, public health workers dare not scoff. The curse of the *houngon* can drive their patients away in trembling fear. Medical workers in the back country have learned not to rip off the charms knotted tightly around the bellies of infants or laugh at crossed sugar cane leaves that are supposed to drive out worms. They know that for years the *houngon* was the only doctor the people had and his power over them is still strong.

With the modern miracle of penicillin they have found that they can make valuable allies of the *houngons*. The sight of this fluid that looks like cocoanut milk being deposited under the very skins of the suffering, the awesome quickness of the treatment and the magical speed of the healing that follows have so impressed the witch doctors that they now urge their people to get the "*piqué*." Already, in many parts of Haiti, the peasant has such faith in the powers of the penicillin needle that he demands it for whatever is ailing him, or, if he is healthy, just as a tonic to give him strength.

If the injection teams are successful, Haiti will not only be freed of the yaws that is crippling its health, economy and social progress, but it will also be the cleanest country in the world so far as venereal disease is concerned. Gonorrhea as well as syphilis should vanish under the onslaught of penicillin, together with pinto which afflicts some natives, and a variety of tropical infections and other diseases responsive to the drug.

Kitchen and Rein, since completing their report on Haiti, have carried their penicillin investigations into Mexico. There they experimented on some of the three and a half million cases of pinto that exist in Latin American countries. This time they selected their patients among murderers serving 30-year sentences in Mexican prisons so there would be no more difficulty with the follow-ups. The results have been equally promising. Now the WHO has invited them to study bejel in Iran.

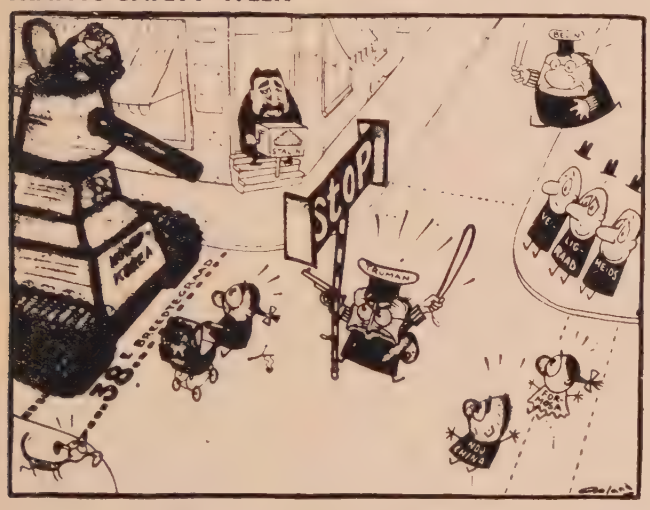
The Government of Haiti, meanwhile, has conferred upon both doctors its Medal of Honor and Merit. If the great project there proves successful as their preliminary work, they will deserve the key to the Republic.

The World Still Laughs

IN THE STALIN CIRCUS

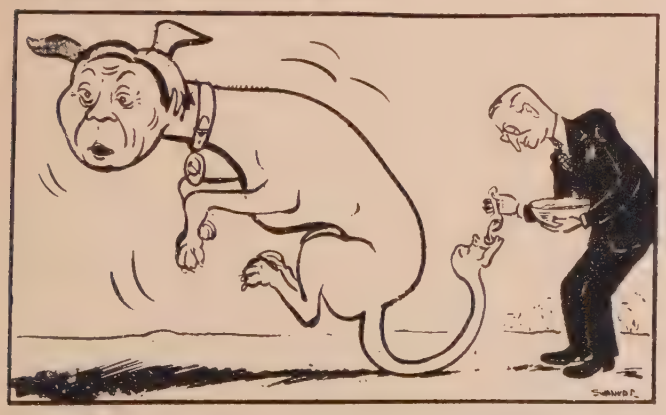
Ringmaster Stalin takes Lie for a ride.
(BLIX in Dagbladet, Oslo)

TRAFFIC SAFETY WEEK



The right of way for the South Korean baby.
(ELSEVIER, Amsterdam)

LET THE TAIL WAG THE DOG



By helping Chiang against Mao, Truman goes one better on nature.
(SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, New Delhi)

THE GREAT AMERICAN PASTIME

Spy hunt in Washington
(DUBLIN OPINION, Dublin)

HOW TO LIVE LONGER

He will be a soldier. It's too dangerous to be a civilian.
(TRYBUNA, Warsaw)

AWAY FROM IT ALL

(FRANCE DIMANCHE, Paris)

This Month's Books-of-the-World

By ATTICUS

Assignment for Citizens

A GREAT Indian statesman remarked to me not long ago that anything which is supported by world opinion tends to become international law. He was referring to the ways in which atomic energy might be controlled, in spite of all the difficulties. The one way—the only way he saw—was for plain men and women, hundreds of millions of them, to come to grips with the problem themselves, in order to push their leaders to a course which can ensure security of life and limb.

The plain man is called to a terrific assignment in our generation. Somehow, he must try to understand. Without him, there is not sufficient wisdom in the world to avert catastrophes. The progress from caveman to world society has reached its final and most baffling stage. He finds himself in a world arena where many enjoy abundance, but where many millions lack the decencies of life. Peoples in Asia he has never seen. But they are beginning to raise a rumpus. And because they too represent a vast potential force, two opposing camps are wooing them: communism, and the democratic system of free enterprise.

The Dilemma of the Plain Man

The plain man probably has no doubt in which of these camps he belongs. He cherishes his free way of life. But he can't be said entirely to understand the bases on which that free system is built, nor what is wrong with the system that challenges it. His knowledge of social forces, of political forces, of economic realities is extremely vague. Yet without these he contributes nothing to the persuasive influence which can win the rest of the world.

What has all this to do with books? A great deal. For the average man or woman, deluged with newspaper reports, with radio, newsreel and television communications from the far-flung regions of the earth, is caught in a whirlpool of surface currents which tend to push him this way and that.

Even the columnists and commentators who stand ready to help him form his judgments, can rarely help him to get at basic things. For this he must go to a quiet corner by himself, with some of the books that do more than scratch the surface. They don't need to be hard reading — and many of those appearing today are not. But they must give him a broad view of historic trend, of social forces, of economic fact.

Unesco to the Rescue

Not only in the United States, but all over South America today, and Western Europe, and the Asian lands, and perhaps in the Communist-bloc nations too, people are straining for the facts which can make them the force that moves the world. They are hungry for books, of which often they have too few. In this, UNESCO is performing a universal service with its wonderful *Book Coupon* scheme, which enables people to purchase books of the "hard currency" countries and pay them in "soft currencies."

Half a million dollars worth of these coupons have been issued to date: $95,000 worth to India; $62,250 to France; $50,000 to Italy; $35,000 to Czechoslovakia. Free coupons as "reconstruction grants" have also gone to Czechoslovakia, to China, to Poland, to Greece, to Austria. The US Library of Congress is aiding the scheme by using coupons for its foreign book purchases, thus pouring dollars into the central clearing house.

What are some of the books the fact-seeker of today might read? There are many important offerings, and of course he should be free to make his own choice. The best a reviewer can do is to suggest a few that appeal to himself.

Marxist Fact—and Fiction

There is, for instance, a little volume which Greenberg will publish on September 15, to sell for $2.50. It is called *Time to Understand,* and is by Emanuel R. Posnack, a New Yorker who is an engineer, accountant and lawyer. In concise, simple language the author explains precisely what communist theory is—he asserts that most of its opponents are ineffective because they have only a "wild-eyed Jack-the-Ripper" characterization of it. And then he goes on to explain why it just can't work well, even from the standpoint of its own production and distribution aims, and why, in practice, it must tend toward dictatorship.

"The true Communist obviously does not seek to harm or abuse the common man," says Posnack. "But when the objective is maximum productive efficiency, the implementation of the concept must necessarily prove destructive to man's morale—and to his happiness."

He points out that in order for all the elements of the vast social mechanism of the communist state to work together, the individual must be a virtual prisoner. If he criticizes the administration, fails to maintain a "normal" personal output of work, objects to the type of work or place of employment assigned to him, his interference with the social mechanism constitutes a crime against the state, which has no alternative but

to suppress his freedoms in order to keep the machinery running smoothly. Thus the drift to totalitarianism.

Sovietism—New Reaction

As if to prove these very points, comes *Verdict of Three Decades*, edited by Julien Steinberg (Duell, Sloan & Pearce, $5.00). The thirty-three contributors to the volume are particularly qualified to present a true picture of Communism and the Soviet State. They are former Communists of high standing who have revolted against the Party. Their verdict is not that improving the welfare of the under-privileged is no longer a valid goal—but that the reality of Soviet communism makes the advancement of that goal impossible.

In the words of Peter Meyer, "the differences of income in Russia are quantitatively in no way inferior to those in capitalist countries. They have long ago reached a stage *where the poverty of the broad masses stands sharply contrasted to the luxury of the upper ten thousand.*"

Soviet Politics—The Dilemma of Power, by Barrington Moore, Jr. (Harvard University Press, $6.00), presents further evidence along these same lines. Thoughtfully and objectively it sets out to discover which pre-revolutionary Bolshevik ideas have been put into effect in the Soviet Union, which have been modified or abandoned, and for what reasons. It is not surprising to learn that the invention of solutions to pending social problems is today almost entirely limited *to the very top of the political pyramid.* Final decision on new policy takes place behind closed doors. Once it is announced, "the Party line is readjusted, and the propaganda machinery of the state puts all its resources to work in promulgating the new doctrine."

From his study of Bolshevik experience, Moore draws the conclusion that functional division of labor, inequality of power and of rewards are inherent features of any modern industrial society, and will be present whether under a capitalist or a communist system.

Capitalism—Trusts Mar It

Certainly none of these writers would give a clean bill of health to the present operation of the capitalist system. As Posnack says, "the unearned fortunes of many millionaires, whose positions of power often cause just resentment among the laboring classes, have their origin in special *privileges* and *concessions* that enable them to exact wealth from others without rendering any equivalent return service in the process of production." These privileges, he points out, are monopoly rights which only simulate the appearance of real capital.

He thinks part of the Communist error is to regard them as real capital, whereas the obligation of the government in a free enterprise economy is to eliminate restrictive combines, pools, syndicates, trusts and cartels which owe their existence only to legal privilege.

Free Enterprise on the March

The average reader has seen a good deal in his newspaper about "Point 4" and UN Technical Assistance, without perhaps fully grasping what these schemes are and how they propose to create a better world for people in Asia and South America and Africa, who today are close to the starvation level. Maybe he thinks they mean he must soon pay taxes for a Marshall Plan of the whole world. Of course they are not like that at all. What Point 4 is, Willard R. Espy tells in a book that reads like fiction: *Bold New Program* (Harper, $3.00). He has fascinating stories of what it means to export *skills* to people who quickly learn to do things for themselves.

One vital thing for all of us today is to give our point of view a trip abroad. World problems look very different when seen from Washington or from New Delhi, India. To help clarify the New Delhi angle, a good selection is *India and the United States*, by Lawrence K. Rosinger, (Macmillan, $2.75.) The author quotes Nehru's classification of India as "the natural center and focal point of the many forces at work in Asia." It is one of the countries eager for foreign aid in the building of its economy—yet at the same time a little wary of the effects of an influx of foreign capital. The author finds that most politically conscious Indians favor the Anglo-American rather than the Soviet theory of government. Yet many non-Communists, even anti-Communists, are attracted by specific aspects of Soviet development. The USSR is widely seen as a country which modernized and industrialized itself without incurring obligations to foreign capital.

WORLD BOOK SHELF

Britain

THE LIBERTIES OF THE MIND
By Charles Morgan (Macmillan).
Essays that restate the philosophy of freedom and present man as a spiritual being, by the author of *Fountain, Empty Room*, etc.

France

MON TOUR DU MONDE EN BATEAU-STOP
By J. Chegaray (Amiot).
A reporter goes 'round the world in a small boat. Very good pictures illustrate a pleasant tale.

Germany

AMOR IN KHAKI
By Maria von Kirchbach (Südverlag).
A book about the relations of the occupants and the occupied, the joys and miseries of a small German town.

United States

LAW OF THE UNITED NATIONS
by Hans Kelsen. (Prager, $18.50)
A book no diplomat, lawyer or teacher can afford to overlook. By analyzing, for the first time, the law which binds UN Members, it brings nearer the goal of abolishing war.

THE NEW FEDERALIST
By Publius II. (Harper, $1.50).
Just as the Federalist Papers sought to clarify the principles of federal union between the thirteen American states, the New Federalist shows how these principles would apply between nations. Its aim is the drafting of an international federal constitution.

THE ECONOMICS OF FREEDOM
By Howard S. Ellis, with an introduction by Dwight D. Eisenhower. (Harper, $5.00).
The result of a year's study by a group of economic, political and military experts under General Eisenhower's chairmanship. They review US economic aid to Western Europe, with suggestions on foreign economic policy in the next few critical years.

Telling Modern Israel's Story

THE REPUBLIC OF ISRAEL
By Joseph Dunner.
Whittlesey House, $4.75.
The past, present and future promise of Israel are here combined in a book that is concise, broad in scope, yet dramatic in the telling. It takes a long look back to the diaspora, then to the Jewish Renaissance that began with Theodor Herzl. From there on, it tells the story of the rebirth of the Jewish "homeland"—a dream that ran into many dangers and difficulties before it became a modern reality.

REPORT ON ISRAEL
By Irwin Shaw.
Simon & Schuster, paper $1.50; cloth $3.00.
Life in Israel today, as seen by an able writer, with the help of an ace photographer, Robert Capa.

MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE
By Simon Halkin.
Schocken, $3.00.
Describes the development of modern Hebrew literature as a record of historical and social forces which have motivated Jewish life in modern times.

ISRAEL IN CHRIST
By A. B. Magil.
International Publishers, $2.50.
A provocative study of present-day Israel from the viewpoint of the extreme left.

THIRTY DAYS IN ISRAEL
A reprint of 25 articles that first appeared in the *Zionist Record* in Johannesburg, South Africa, and attracted widespread attention. Jewish Book Center, Johannesburg, $2.75.

IN SEARCH
By Meyer Levin.
Horizon Press, $3.75.
Autobiography of the brilliant American-Jewish novelist and reporter, who has spent much time in Israel, since 1925. His story of Haganah's work in the underground exodus is courageous and thrilling.

YOUNG HEARTS
By David Maletz.
Schocken, $3.00.
English translation of Israel's popular novel on kibbutz life, known in Hebrew as "Maagalot."

Book-View of Israel

Aids for the Hebrew Language

Speak Hebrew by Daniel Persky (a conversational manual of Israel colloquial Hebrew). $1.25
First Year Hebrew by H. E. Goldin .. .75
Second Year Hebrew by H. E. Goldin .. .75
Modern Hebrew by Blumberg & Lewittes 2.25
Modern Hebrew Literature by by Zeldner & Epstein 2.25
Vocabulary of Jewish Life, by A. M. Heller 1.50
Practical Hebrew-English Dictionary by M. G. Glenn 3.50
Tri-Lingual Dictionary (Yiddish-English-Hebrew) by Alexander Harkavy 5.50
Students' Hebrew and Chaldaic Dictionary by Alexander Harkavy 4.00

HEBREW PUBLISHING COMPANY
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ISRAEL IN CRISIS
by A. B. MAGIL
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By Abraham Joshua Heschel
Henry Schuman Inc., 20 E. 70 St., N. Y. C. 21

THEODOR HERZL
The Jew and the Man
A portrait by
Oscar Benjamin Frankl
At all Bookstores $2.50
STORM PUBLISHERS 420 Lexington Ave. New York, N. Y.

Russian Mind

(Continued from page 20)

of the autocrat and the secret police: to insist repeatedly and at length that no government can be representative without opposition: that the death-wish hovers over the heart of the autocrat.

What form will the Russian obsessions take in modern war? We may expect constant striving to expand on all frontiers simultaneously. We may find to our astonishment that the Russians will evacuate the tributary states at the first signs of defeat, but they will fight desperately on their own soil. They will throw into battle the largest weapons they can fashion, because they are obsessed with vastness for its own sake: the largest tanks, the largest airplanes, the largest battleships. They will accept only the single authoritative leadership of the *Vozhd*, and if he should die during the course of the war it is possible that the government will suffer such strains that the nation will dissolve into separate elements, with the army commanders of the European, Central Asia, and Far Eastern fronts assuming complete political command.

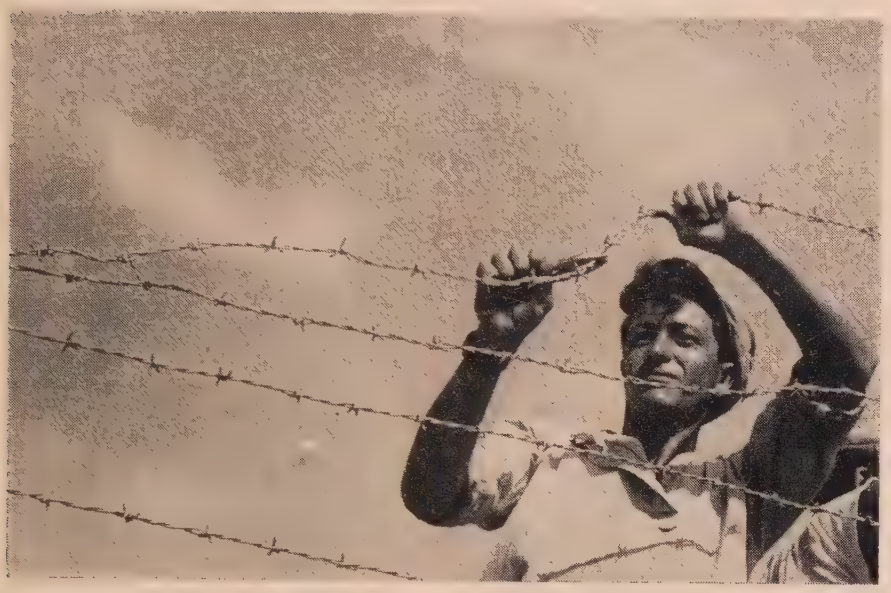
Still more certainly, a war fought on foreign territory would produce strains between the political commissars and the army commanders, and between the officers and the soldiers, for the "communalism" of the Russians, even though they demand an autocrat, involves a basic disregard for rank.

If the present rulers of Russia realize these weaknesses, it is possible that the war they have declared in Korea will be suddenly "undeclared."

This is, however, quite unlikely, for the very nature of the Russian mind seems to demand desperate solutions for the simple problem of how human beings shall live together on this planet: and it would seem to be in the highest degree probable that the "frightful convulsions" prophesied by Lenin, using the same words as the schismatics whose blood flowed in his veins, are now at hand.

"It is through the exercise of the Israeli people's constructive genius rather than through victories in the battlefield or in the conference room that its heritage will be fully redeemed."

By DAVID BEN-GURION
Prime Minister of Israel



THE SMILE of hope: Removing barbed wire from a settlement in the Negev.

A People Reborn A Land Reclaimed

ISRAEL'S admission to membership of the United Nations set the seal of the supreme human authority of our time on the independence and equality of the reestablished Jewish State. When the might of Imperial Rome extinguished Jewish freedom, some two thousand years ago, it seemed as if the name of Israel had been blotted out forever from the roll of the independent nations of the world. After the revolt of Bar Kochba, the Emperor Hadrian attempted to wipe out even the name of Israel's capital — Jerusalem — giving it the heathen designation of Aelia Capitolina. After the Romans, successive foreign conquerors laid waste the land of Israel and the remnants of the Hebrew population were gradually uprooted and destroyed. At the start of the 7th century of the Christian Era, a Jewish army for the last time—until the 20th century—took up positions on a battlefield in its own country. This was the army of Benjamin of Tiberias, which fought as an ally of the Persian army against the Byzantines, the successors of Imperial Rome. With the Arab conquest and the Crusades, the very memory of Israel seemed to be obliterated from its ancient land. The Jews were scattered among the nations and became a people of wandering exiles.

But throughout the millenia of suf-

fering, the people of Israel retained an unshakeable faith in their destiny and never gave up hope of redemption and revival. And so, even when its grimmest ordeal came and a third of the Jewish nation was exterminated by the Nazi barbarians, its spirit was not broken. In its darkest hour, it reaffirmed its resolve to end the age-long bondage and to re-establish the independence and freedom of Israel. This pledge was redeemed two years ago with the proclamation of the Jewish State and its victorious defense against the aggression of six Arab countries.

These Are Israel's Aims

In resuming its place within the family of free nations after so many centuries of oppression and exile, Israel is determined to support, to the best of its capacity, every measure which strengthens world peace, promotes understanding among the peoples and ensures the rights of man and the equality of nations. Israel's policies, as a free and sovereign people, will be inspired by the universal aims of the United Nations and it will seek, by every means at its command, to strengthen the authority, effectiveness and international character of the United Nations organization. At the same time, Israel will consistently aim at maintaining friendly relations with all the peace-loving nations of the world in the East and the West and in all the five continents. In particular, it will strive loyally for peace and amity with the neighboring Arab states. Armistice agreements have been signed under the auspices of the UN between Israel and four of its neighbors—Egypt, the Lebanon, Jordan and Syria. It may be hoped that these will eventually lead to the conclusion of a stable and honorable peace. For its part, the Government of Israel will spare no effort to achieve this end. Moreover, it is thinking of peace not only in passive terms, as the absence of war, but in active terms—of a peace policy based on mutual assistance and cooperation for the benefit of all the peoples of the Middle East. Israel aspires to a common policy of economic development and social advance for the entire area, designed to raise the standards of living of all its inhabitants and to achieve true independence for all its peoples. By helping to promote the welfare, progress and freedom of the Middle East and to liberate it from squalor, disease and exploitation, Israel may be able to make perhaps its most important contribution to the consolidation of world peace and of democratic civilization.

Israel is determined to apply this "good neighbor" policy within its own borders as well as beyond its frontiers. To its Arab citizens of the Moslem and Christian faiths, Israel accords full civic, political and social equality. The Jewish people, which has itself suffered so long from discrimination and intolerance, will not countenance in its midst any kind of civic injustice or religious or national inequality. Moreover, the Government of Israel will take active steps for the improvement of social and economic conditions prevailing among its Arab citizens, who will share with all the other inhabitants of the State in the fruits of its progress.

None of the many complex tasks facing the State of Israel today is of more immediate urgency or of more crucial importance than the absorption of immigration. It may be said that this is the principal object for which the State of Israel has been created and the supreme test by which it will be judged. The hope of the Return has for thousands of years kept alive the spirit of the nation. Immigration has built the foundations of the State and it alone can ensure it growth to full stature. Immigration, moreover, is not only a vital interest of the State but is also the most pressing need of multitudes of the Jewish people. No time must be lost in extricating them from countries where they may again become the first victims of any future convulsions. Immigration to Israel must continue as long as there are Jews in exile who need or desire the haven of the homeland.

In this field, the State of Israel has already scored unique achievements. Little more than two years after its establishment, it has admitted over 430,000 new arrivals.

The problems involved in a population movement of such dimensions will be readily appreciated. Moreover, it should be remembered that in this instance the influx has been directed not to a country with rich natural resources or with a developed economy enjoying conditions of undisturbed peace. In the case of Israel the vast inflow of immigration was accepted by an infant state with scanty resources which had just emerged from chaos and was at war with an overwhelming coalition of aggressors. Under these circumstances, Israel's immigration achievements stand out as unprecedented.

Crucial Test

The problem of immigration does not end but rather begins with the arrival of the newcomer to Israel. The crux of the issue is his permanent establishment and integration in the life of the country. The reality of Israel's achievement will be tested by its ability to "absorb" the immigrants and to enable them to strike roots in the homeland—in work, homes, language, culture—as comrades with equal rights and duties in the fellowship of renewed statehood. This basic problem of absorption has so far been only partially met.

The Government of Israel is resolved to implement every measure of economic policy and social legislation and every plan of development required for the absorption of mass immigration in accordance with its proclaimed aim of doubling Israel's population within four years.

Absorption Plan

The Government does not underestimate the gravity of the economic and social problems created by the tremendous influx. It is convinced, however, that it is imperative and possible to find a solution not through methods of restriction but through those of development, not by curbing

the growth of the population but by expanding the effort made to promote housing, settlement and employment.

In order to achieve this end, the Government on its part is resolved to adapt the country's entire economic regime to the over-riding needs of immigration and development. All available resources that can be spared are directed to essential purposes of construction and production. The inflow of private and public capital for

PRIME MINISTER BEN-GURION

purposes of development is encouraged; industrial and agricultural output increased; equipment and plant modernized and more efficient and economic methods of production adopted. An "austerity" scheme has been introduced in order to prevent wastage, restrict non-essential imports and the unproductive drain on limited currency reserves. One of the main purposes of the scheme is to check inflation, which has resulted from the war and the economic dislocation consequent on the period of transition. The reduction of abnormal prices and cost of living to more economic levels will remove a serious threat to popular welfare and a handicap to the influx of fresh investments, new building activity, etc. Through the introduction of price controls, food rationing, supply of "Utility" products, etc., the Government is at the same time determined to ensure satisfactory standards of living.

Development Program

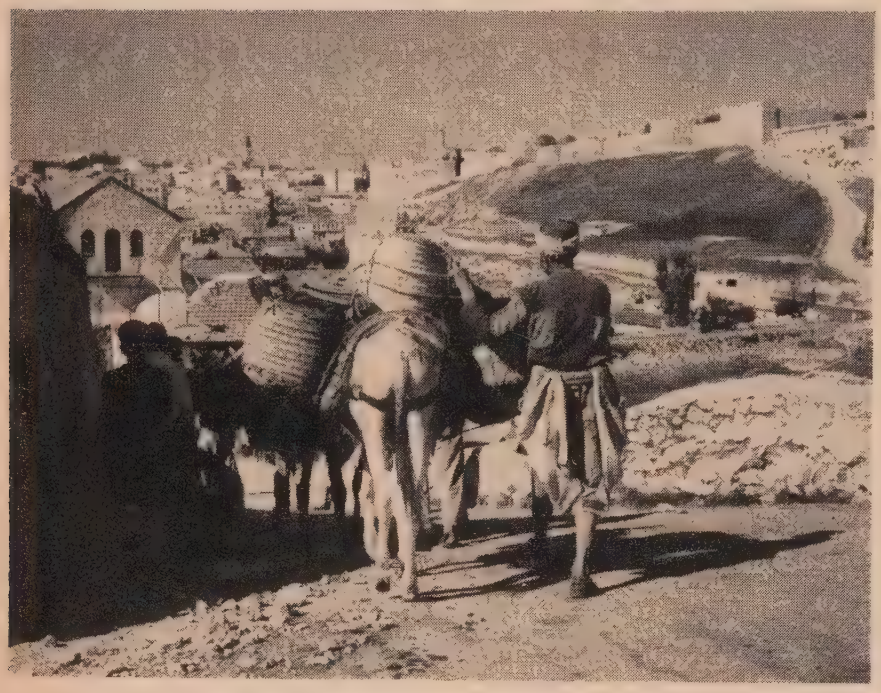
Combined with these measures of economic regulation, great constructive projects already approaching materialization will contribute to the expansion of employment opportunities and of the country's absorptive capacity. These projects will also make a permanent addition to the country's economic assets. They include an extensive housing program, the establishment of new cities and villages, the development of shipping, air and motor services, road and rail construction, the erection of new industries, irrigation and drainage.

The financial problems involved in so vast a development program obviously cannot be solved by any young state without outside assistance. Israel looks forward to the cooperation of public and private capital from abroad. This source of development funds has played a primary part in the past evolution of the country. Furthermore, a notable part of the funds required for Israel's reconstruction may be expected from international loans. The $100,000,000 loan extended by the United States Export-Import Bank for the purchase of machinery, equipment, etc., is a token of confidence in Israel's economic future and an indication of the potentialities existing in this field. It may be hoped that economic aid to Israel will be forthcoming not only in the form of commercial loans but also within the framework of general plans of international assistance to the economic rehabilitation of underdeveloped territories.

No discussion of Israel's reconstruction program can omit some mention of the Negev, which accounts for well over half of the country's present area. With the realization of impending irrigation schemes, the desert of today may become the busiest scene of new settlement and development. The mineral resources of the Negev have not yet been fully explored, but they may prove to be much more extensive than has been generally assumed. In the salty waters of the Dead Sea the Negev already possesses one of the richest storehouses of mineral wealth on the face of the earth. Moreover, the Negev includes a coastal strip at Elath on the Gulf of Akaba. This outlet to the Red Sea is of exceptional importance to Israel's economic future. It provides a maritime connection between Israel and Asia, the world's most populous continent, and enables Israel to take full advantage of its position as a link between the three continents of Asia, Europe and Africa. With access to two seas, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, and thus to two oceans—the Indian and the Atlantic—Israel may look forward to a great future as a hub of international communications. Israel is not only the sole country in the world which can direct its traffic to both these oceans without using the Suez Canal, but it also offers a convenient route for an alternative canal.

Three thousand years ago the first Jewish fleet sailed forth from Elath. At Etzion-Geber nearby, King Solomon built the first smelting-plant to work the copper ores from the mines of the Negev. In our own day, Elath may again become a center of shipping, and the Gulf of Akaba a gateway for the revived industries of the Negev, which again may be based on its mineral wealth. With all its natural advantages and great potentialities, Elath is today a backwater and the Negev stil lan arid and desolate waste. The reclamation of the Negev will require not only vast outlays but, above all, immense pioneering exertions inspired by indomitable faith, devotion and vision. It is through these qualities of the nation's spirit that the wastes of the Homeland were reclaimed in the past and its battles won. It is through the exercise of the people's constructive genius rather than through victories on the battlefield or in the conference-room that its heritage will be fully redeemed. It is only thus that the Jewish people in its own land will be transformed into a free cooperative commonwealth of labor dedicated to the cause of peace and democratic civilization in the Middle East and in the whole world.

This Year in Jerusalem



THE OLD CITY: Historic walls glisten in the distance.

By DAVID COURTNEY

Columnist of the "Jerusalem Post"

THE Jews came up to Jerusalem somewhere about 1000 B.C., with David at their head, and made of it their greatest and holiest city. By the end of the first Century of the Christian Era the city, despoiled and neglected, had been emptied of its Jews, who now were wandering over the face of the earth, meeting together in nervous exile to greet each other with the prayer: *Next year in Jerusalem.* Every Passover festival the wine-glasses were raised to that solemn toast. Generation after generation, century upon century, in the lands of Byzance, of Charlemagne and his successors, of Northern Kings and Southern Caliphs, the Jews rose from their Passover tables with that sweet assurance: *Next year in Jerusalem.* And it came true. It took exactly one thousand, eight hundred and seventy-eight years, between the capture of Jerusalem by the Roman Titus in 70 A.D. and the proclamation of the State of Israel in 1948, to make it wholly true.

No other people has carried in its heart and on its tongue the central slogan of its national aspiration so uninterruptedly and for so long. During that time the Jews suffered fearful persecution, segregation, forcible conversion, were hated and despised, done to death by the hundreds of thousands. But around the spiritual conception of Jerusalem and the assurance of its substantial fulfillment, the nation survived. There were always Jews in the city. There were always Jewish travelers, usually learned Rabbis from Spain, or Germany, or Poland, making the hazardous voyage to a Jerusalem ruled, now by the Saracens, now by the Crusaders, now by the Turks. It was under the Turks, in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, that the Jews began coming back in sufficient numbers to build a new Jerusalem outside the narrow, fetid confines of the walled city.

The new Jerusalem counts 112,000 Jewish souls. It spreads west, northwest and southwest from the walled city, occupying about ten square miles as against the Old City's one-third of a square mile. It has modern shopping streets, quarters with tall apartment buildings, shady suburbs, mid-Nineteenth Century quarters in the Ottoman style with stone-paved courtyards and long balconies. Behind the busy shopping streets are patrician mansions in the style of Holland, or France, or Spain, or Italy, telling the origin of their merchant-founders. There are streets with a Caucasian air, behind the modest walls of which Bokharan families at festivals bring out the splendor of rug and shawl and brocade for which they are noted. There are centers of pious study where ringletted Jews in the costumes of medieval Poland recite and dispute upon the ancient wisdom of Judaism. There are mod-

THE NEW CITY: A tree grows in the business section.

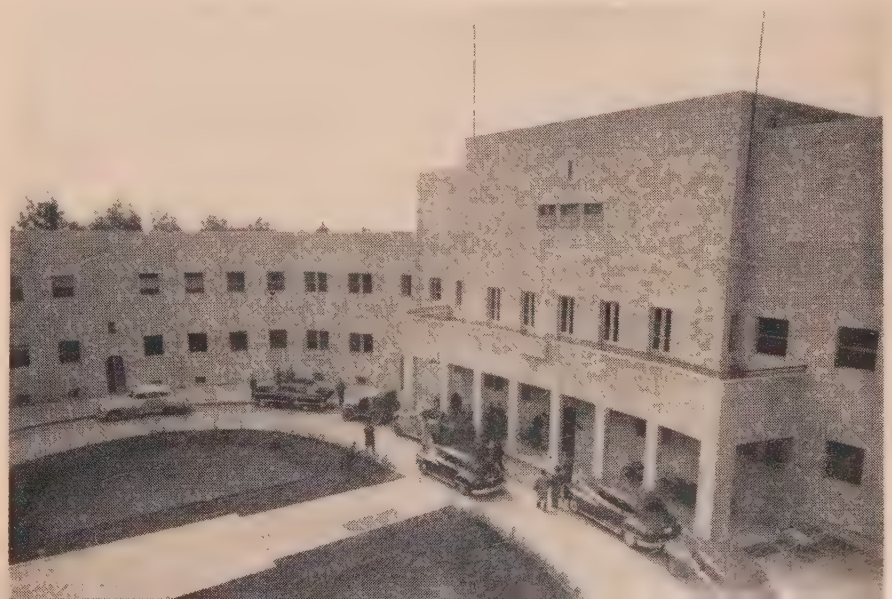
ern high schools, kindergartens, and gleaming from the shoulder of Mount Scopus, the Hebrew University. The atmosphere of a modern capital city has been achieved by the establishment of the national Parliament and Government Departments in Jerusalem. The whole effect is of an organic community preserving and developing the nation's spiritual, social and cultural resources.

Jerusalem has been called, in the figurative language of the prophets, a bowl of scorpions. It has that side to it. At any rate its history has. In historic days, great conquerors from Nebuchadnezzar to Titus measured their strength against its passionate defenders and reduced the city only after long siege and cruel slaughter. When the Arab armies of King Abdullah of Transjordan and King Farouk of Egypt invested it in 1948, they set their guns along the encircling ridges north, south, east and west, occupying the dominant areas of the Hebrew University and the Hadassah Hospital along Mount Scopus, moving their well-trained, well-armed regiments into the deserted Old City and manning the crenellated walls with snipers and mortars. By every normal calculation of siege warfare the 100,000 Jewish citizens should have surrendered after the first few days. They did not.

Their communications with the coastal plain were cut. Their water supply was stopped. There was not enough food to go 'round. Water was rationed, a pail or so at a time. There was no fuel to cook with except the few sticks picked up in a back garden. Medicines were short. Doctors in improvised hospitals worked night and day, by candle light when the electricity gave out. In the days of the siege between May 15 and June 11, 1948, 1,490 people were killed in Jewish Jerusalem and over 4,000 were wounded. Sometimes the shellfire went on all day and all night. There was no chance of sleep; no pause in which to quiet a crying child. But the shopkeepers, after manning the reserve defenses all night, opened their shops for an hour or two if they had anything to sell; the bakers baked as long as there was flour; the water-carts came regularly to ladle out the ration of water; the children, in a quiet moment, collected weeds for food, until the sun became unbearably hot and dried up the weeds. It was the men with the water-carts, the women queueing for bread or water, the children on their way to an underground kindergarten, who made up most of the dead and wounded. The defenders began with no arms to speak of and ended with what could be brought up to them in occasional flights by an old biplane; but the enemy could not break the line, he could not break the spirit of the 100,000 citizens.

There came a truce through the intervention of the United Nations; and then an Armistice. Formally, the matter of Jerusalem rests there. The Internationalization Statute recommended by the General Assembly and considered by the Trusteeship Council is in suspension. The Jews have rejected it for their Jerusalem and the Arabs on the other side have rejected it for theirs. But a city which means what Jerusalem means to its Jewish citizens and to a whole nation cannot remain static or in suspension. The new Jerusalem has increased its population since 1948 by upwards of 20,000 and is expected to add another 30,000 before the year is out. An invaluable hinterland has been

THE NEWEST CITY: The Knesseth, Israel's Parliament.



opened westwards towards the rich plains, and the rocky valleys and slopes of the Judean hills have begun to grow food for the expanding city. This way, too, lies the city's new road.

The new city of Jerusalem will never be a great industrial center. There are printing presses, workshops for the making of furniture. Craftsmen in wood and metal have settled in the city. There are flour mills and paper mills; a pharmaceutical works and a cigarette factory; a plant for diamond polishing and cutting. The tawny and orange building stone of Jerusalem is quarried for the city's own buildings and for monumental work in other centers of the country. But the main impression given by the new Jerusalem is of a center of government and learning and of a nation's spirit. The impression will be still stronger when the plans for a Parliament House, government buildings, a great national center to house congresses and provide facilities for cultural festivals, have appeared in stone among the gardens designed for them. The city will bear this new life and beauty on the many hills that rise in companionship with Zion. It will still be holy; still be part of the light and air and quiet brooding of Judea, out of which have come guidance and comfort for mankind.

Jerusalem is a progressive municipality. Its current budget is 2,211,000 Israeli pounds. It employs just short of 1500 officials. The annual taxes are reckoned at 1,250,000 Israeli pounds, which is well below the estimated expenditure. The difference is made up by the State of Israel, which has contributed £620,000 for public works and £460,200 for education. But the dependence of Jerusalem upon the State of Israel is more than balanced by the dependence of the State of Israel upon Jerusalem. Psychological factors are a potent force in government, and there can hardly be any doubt that laws which come out of Jerusalem carry with them a special validity, which they would lack if their origin were, for example, Tel Aviv.

The city has been a lawgiver throughout most of its history. It was, of course, the seat of the British Mandatary Government, which followed upon the defeat of the Turks in the first world war. Sultan Selim I conquered it in 1517 and exactly four hundred years later General Allenby, afoot, entered its gates. The rule of the Caliphs had ended. Christian, Jew and Arab alike rejoiced; and in every synagogue from Warsaw to Morocco, from New York to Hongkong, the Jews gave thanks and uttered with a new conviction the prayer: *Next year in Jerusalem.* And next year they began coming. Little by little the city spread westwards. In 1925 the great Hebrew University was inaugurated on Mount Scopus. Four years later the Jewish Agency for Palestine was officially constituted and Jerusalem became the seat of a Jewish governing body of national and international proportions, which exercised, under the Mandatary Government, an authority in many respects little short of autonomous.

New Chapter in an Old Book

Side by side with the Mandatary and the Jewish Agency, authoritative religious bodies, including the Catholic, Greek and Armenian Patriarchates, had their seat in Jerusalem. The liberation had given them a new freedom and a new influence. High-ranking Consular officers from the important nations of the world established themselves in Jerusalem and contributed to the city's atmosphere of political significance. But the essential and most conspicuous development throughout this period was the growth of a big, new Jewish community along European social lines. Upon the theological foundations of the Holy City, which had remained largely medieval and oriental for centuries, medical and scientific institutions, and places of learning were set. They left the spirit and ageless meaning of the city untouched but changed its social emphasis to meet the needs of a highly cultivated and progressive community.

Divided or unified, Jerusalem, holy to pious men of three faiths, is one of the loveliest cities of the world. Its stones, from those fixed by Herod, or the Empress Helen, or the Sultan Selim, to those quarried and chiseled today by men newly come from half a dozen lands of their national exile, have shaped the city in grace and beauty. It bears the impress of the Divine Spirit and of the urgency of men to build, heal, add new wisdoms to the old, do commerce, and raise themselves in dignity and strength. It is a holy city, a living city, an unforgettable city.

Inside Jerusalem

There are two Jerusalems. The ancient walled "Old City" has existed some 5,000 years. It has an area of only .328 square miles. It is ruled by Jordan.

The New City, extending over 10 square miles, came into being in 1857, when Jews first built outside the Old City walls. It is the capital of Israel.

Constantly expanding, the New City population included 112,000 Jews and 1,500 non-Jews, as of June 30, 1950.

Jerusalem is also Israel's educational center. The first Hebrew newspaper was published there in 1863; the Hebrew National Library was founded in 1896, and the Hebrew Teachers Training College in 1913. The city has 188 schools as well as the Hebrew University, established 25 years ago.

Holy Places are concentrated in the Old City and other areas under Jordan control. There are 10 Holy Places under the internationally-defined status quo established in 1757 but none of them in Jewish Jerusalem. The official UN Map lists more than 40 Holy Places, churches, synagogues, tombs. Only three of these are in Jewish Jerusalem.

Located high in the Judean Hills, Jerusalem has always depended on outside sources for food and water.

In ancient times, Jerusalem's water sources were cisterns and aqueduct. Since 1936, water has been pumped from the coast. But when the Arabs besieged Jerusalem, the line was cut. The Israel Government built a new pipe line which supplies 8,000 cubic meters of water daily. Next year, a new line will increase the supply to 45,000 cubic meters.

Jerusalem's Jewish population suffered heavy casualties in the defense of their city during the Arab siege. More than 1½ per cent of the population—1,490 men, women and children—were killed, and more than 4,000 were wounded. Property damage exceeded $50,000,000.

Israel Newsreel

By VICTOR H. BERNSTEIN

Author of "Final Judgment"

From Lydda airport to Jerusalem we shared a taxi with two very American women tourists and a professional guide with an extraordinarily glib tongue. "This," he intoned, as we sped upwards through the burning rocky Judean Hills, "is the Mountain of So-and-So, and that is the Village of This-and-That, and there is the Valley of Such-and-Such." The resounding Biblical names fell from his lips like benedictions, and the ladies squirmed with pleasure.

At one point, however, having run out of names or breath, the guide paused. It was an unfortunate dereliction on his part, for the car was then passing a slight depression to the left of the highway which had caught the eye of one of the tourists. She turned to the guide and said reproachfully: "Isn't that the Valley of *Anything?*"

What are the criteria of Statehood? A parliament? An army? A police force? A national culture? Israel has all of these and that ineffable something more which goes to the root of the matter. In the window of one of Jerusalem's leading tailor shops there is a small sign bearing the seal of the State and the following legend in neat gold letters:

By Appointment to His Excellency The President of the State of Israel.

Israel has not yet quite got a common language. This is not surprising, considering that one-third of its adult population has been here two years or less, while more than half has been here for less than two years. I would assume that the four major languages, in the order named, are Hebrew, Yiddish, Arabic and English. These are followed by every European tongue and dialect known to man.

In the restaurant of the King David Hotel, Jerusalem's swankiest, French was once *de rigeur*. The menus are still written in French, and many of the waiters speak it. But not all. The other day I asked my waiter for *"de l'eau, s'il vous plait,"* whereupon he turned to a passing bus boy and bellowed, "Rabinovitch! Wasser!"

Seen in the moonlight, the town of Safed is a silver-robed ghost squatting on a dark mountain. In the ancient lower town, the streets are precipitous twisting stairs and around you all is silver and black shadow and the lingering memory of the mystic Kaballa.

Then you climb upwards ten steps through as many centuries into the narrow main street of the upper town, and you are caught in an irresistable stream of laughing Jewish youth crowding the gutters and the sidewalks and the small shops and the little cafes, and through an open door comes the hoarse and cheery contralto of a nightclub singer opining that *"Manana* Is Good Enough for Me."

Inside the nightclub a slim Yemenite girl in army uniform, who two years ago was living precisely as her forebears had lived two millenia earlier, is swaying gracefully to the kaballistic rhythm of a rhumba.

What a tiny country this is! Schmuel, a blond Balkan Jew, our driver and mentor, who loves every inch of it passionately tells us that the Haifa-Jerusalem railway runs so close to the borders that there are signs above each car window reading, "Please do not put your heads out of the State."

But in such matters Schmuel cannot be trusted. He is always telling us that the olive grove we happen to be passing is 2000 years old. He takes a refreshing pleasure in pointing out a little settlement of wooden huts atop a stony Judean peak and telling us that two weeks ago it wasn't there.

At least we thought he couldn't be trusted when he told us these things. Now that we've checked a little, we no longer put so much trust in our own mistrust.

Less than two years ago Beersheba was a typical mid-east town where the odors of the bazaar and of long-forgotten dirt clung to the white-washed mud houses.

Now that the Jews have taken over, trucks and taxis careen down streets torn up for sewage and water lines, and the town is filled with the scream of frightened brakes. The population has jumped from 2000 last April to 6000 or more today, and new housing rises miraculously around the edges of the town in incredibly short time.

At night, picking my way cautiously among the half-dozen beds set up in the hotel lobby to accommodate overflow guests, I approach the proprietor and whisper my question:

"How do all these people expect to make a living in the middle of the desert?"

"By building houses for newcomers," he whispers back.

"But how will the newcomers live?"

"By building houses for the next newcomers."

I slip tiredly into my cot in a room sleeping six and think to myself that these people are utterly and completely mad and completely and utterly wonderful.

These Are Israel's Women

By GERALDINE STERN
Lecturer on Israel

THE woman of Israel is a pioneer. Her life is dominated by the same hardships and privations which faced the American pioneer woman during the founding of this nation — and that is the only kind of domination she will brook, and gladly, as her contribution to the freedom of her own life and that of her family. Here is a rare opportunity to see women in the dynamic environment of creation, defense and development of a new nation.

As I lived in and visited the agricultural settlements *(kibbutzim)* and cities all over Israel, I came to know its women in every phase of their lives. Prime pioneer is the woman who came to Palestine from Europe or America as long as thirty years ago to establish the *kibbutz* on a communal basis, to resettle the land and defend its borders in a dream of a Jewish state. She was an intellectual and an idealist—and yet the tasks of constructing roads and buildings under the most difficult conditions became her daily stint.

And now her daughter, the *Sabra* (coveted title of the native-born Israeli), side by side with pioneer immigrant youth, follows in her tradition, settling new frontiers from the Lebanese border in the north to the Negev in the south.

Attracted, too, by the dream of the Jewish homeland were the women who came to the cities—to Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and countless smaller towns. Although not subjected to the hardships of pioneer women, such as walking long distances in all kinds of weather to common shower or toilet rooms, they too willingly suffered numerous privations to accomplish their ambition.

There is also the Arab woman, citizen of Israel, who lives chiefly in villages and towns. In one case there has even been established an Arab *kibbutz* where one of the Arabs lives with two wives—polygamy being generally accepted by the Arab population. It is expected, however, that a law outlawing polygamy in Israel will soon be passed.

Protection against polygamy; suffrage, which Arab women are enjoying for the first time anywhere in the world; compulsory education laws which apply to all Israeli children and a new law prohibiting marriage before 17, all add up to a new freedom for Arab women—one which has been enjoyed by their Jewish sisters in Israel all along. Although some have already received the advantages of a higher education, the frequent sight of an Arab woman in draped garb, pieces of wood piled unbelievably high on her head, followed by a child with a large container of water on her head in a like fashion, is a constant reminder of the mixed oriental-western atmosphere of Israel.

AND then, too, there are the thousands of women and their families, new to the country, who seek refuge in a land readied by these earlier settlers, from European concentration camps, from pogroms and ghettos in North Africa, Turkey and Yemen, from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. These seek a new life and new hope.

These, then, are the women of Israel—pioneers, sabras, refugees. They are filled with hope and fired with ambition for the future of a nation which was conceived in dreams thousands of years old and born in bloody travail. For, between World Wars and Arab Wars Israel has known very little peace. As a matter of fact, there is still no real peace, and the impact of recent fighting is everywhere. The predominant first impression given by Israeli women is their vital role in the war and in the present defense program.

Women made up ten percent of the underground fighters in the Haganah and the first line fighters in the Palmach. They served in every type of army unit. Unlike women's auxiliary corps elsewhere, they were trained in the use of hand grenades, small arms and even clubs. Many were in the front lines as part of demolition squads or snipers to supplement their men, overwhelmingly outnumbered by the enemy.

Naomi, whom I met at Mishmar Haemek, a *kibbutz* in the valley of Eastern Galilee, was in charge of the communal nursery when it was attacked by Fauzi Kaukaji and his Syrian irregulars. The water tank was hit and the nursery completely flooded. She pushed the beds up against the wall and tried to cover the babies with her own body. She managed to

SHOWING an independent spirit, women of Israel, like these cobblers, work at many occupations usually reserved to men.

ZIPPORAH FELL, young Viennese, (left), Chief of Israel's policewomen, at Tel Aviv headquarters, with her secretary.

A WORKER in a "Kibbutz." This Turkish beauty, barely 16, came to Israel recently with her parents in search of a better life.

save all but three of the children, one of whom was killed with his mother while being nursed. When I met Naomi she had just returned from New York where the settlement had sent her for medical care and an artificial leg.

A general conscription law for women between the ages of 18 and 28 was recently enacted. Exempted only are married and orthodox women.

It was under the constant bombardment of the two-month siege of Jerusalem that the Israeli women proved their mettle. Utilities were entirely cut off and they were dependent on the little food and water that could be brought from the outside. The rationed water was distributed at night so as to reduce casualties. In their search for food the women denuded the trees of their leaves and used the twigs for fuel, thus adding skeletons of trees to the already macabre scene. Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus was held by the Arabs and had to be moved to three underground hospitals in the new city where women performed miracles of nursing care by flashlight.

Today the picture has changed. With Jerusalem established as Israel's capital, women are attending diplomatic functions in formal attire—a difficult task with clothes rationing just put into effect. In Tel Aviv and Haifa women are attending concerts, theaters, art exhibits or meeting in sidewalk cafes.

It was in a cafe in Tel Aviv that I saw for the first time the concentration camp number tatooed on the arm of a woman. What she had been through as contrasted to the simple privilege of having tea in a free atmosphere, seemed to symbolize for me the meaning of Israel.

Riding in a taxi from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem one day I met the mother of a girl who had just been married in the first gala wedding ever to take place in a *kibbutz*. I had already heard about the wedding as a big post-war event. The members of her *kibbutz*, Beth Sara, held a discussion (their method of arriving at all decisions) and concluded that after 2,000 years they should celebrate. The couple were married at the seaside by a rabbi (there is as yet no civil marriage or divorce in Israel) and there followed a feast for the 800 in the *kibbutz*. When I asked what the bride had worn, her mother exclaimed with pride, "A skirt and a *silk* blouse. Imagine, in a *kibbutz!*"

The general desire for group celebration of happy events after the war was well put by a newspaper woman

IN ANCIENT ARTS and crafts women also excel. Young girl from Morocco uses skill at pottery painting in Jerusalem.

in the same taxi when she said: "The whole country is celebrating like hell."

Jobs of all descriptions are and always have been open to women, and practically all of them work outside of the home, even if they require domestic help to do so. As a result the Israeli woman has achieved a high standing professionally and industrially and in the opinion of men. Adding to their popularity is the interesting fact that for every 100 men there are only 88 women between the ages of 20 and 45. This is definitely one advantage that the Israeli woman has over her western sister who outnumbers her men folk 102 to 100 and to whom more girls than boys are being born every day.

I MET domestics, factory hands, shop workers, school teachers, social workers, nurses, artists and agricultural workers. There are also doctors, lawyers, architects and chemists. Of the 120 members of the Knesset (parliament) 11 are women, the most prominent being Golda Meyerson, Minister of Labor.

A story almost too fantastic for belief is that of Rachel, a social worker among immigrant families, whom I met on the beach at Tel Aviv and who told it to me to the accompaniment of the lapping of the waves of the calm blue Mediterranean.

She was born in Palestine and married to a young man in a *kibbutz* at an early age. Her husband contracted malaria while building the settlement and they went to Poland to help regain his health. When he recovered he was conscripted into the Polish army and was killed by the invading Germans. Before the Nazis set up the ghetto she managed to exchange her house in Warsaw for one in Lwow where she moved with her child and a faithful non-Jewish nurse.

By forging identification papers, she succeeded in passing as an Arabian princess although she didn't know a single word of Arabic, and lived in constant fear of being confronted by the Mufti on his frequent visits. She worked all day at the hospital and sat nightly at a window watching lest the Gestapo discover the 12 Jews, one a prominent Polish pianist, she was hiding in a small room off the kitchen. After the liberation she and her protégés were taken to a DP camp where she insisted on seeing the head of the Jewish committee for help. He is now her husband, and with him and her child she is now making a new life in the country she had helped to build.

The possession of an Israeli passport in place of a carte d'identité or forged documents, with which many of these women were shunted from one European country to another, pushes into insignificance the daily difficulties of life in Israel today. The simplest things we take for granted are considered luxuries by these people. Israel is the most house-starved community in the world. Many are living in tents in camps, waiting, not always patiently, to be assigned to deserted Arab villages, or less frequently to new housing. Some families live in a single room in the city. The shortage has created a staggering bonus or key money system, and many apartments convert to offices during the daytime.

Housekeeping problems still require inordinate patience and energy. With increasing immigration more and more foods have been rationed and queue lines have grown and everything must be carried home in heavy string bags. There are four meatless days a week and sometimes even fish is so hard to get that should a housewife come across one on Tuesday she will let it swim in the bathtub to keep it fresh for the Sabbath.

REFRIGERATORS are as precious as diamonds and many function so poorly that it is almost impossible to find an ice cube. Homes cannot use electricity between 7:30 and 11:30 a. m. and women must rush to the beauty shop while they can still heat the water. In the same category with refrigerators are washing machines and other electrical appliances. The fact that most men come home for lunch adds to the problems. Many kitchens have a gas burner, an electric plate and a kerosene or petrol burner in readiness for whatever fuel is available.

Baby-sitters are practically nonexistent, and domestics go home after eight hours of work. These however, are not problems for the *kibbutzim* which operate completely on self labor. Children of various age levels are placed in groups in the charge of specially trained teachers who live in the same houses with the children. Every woman works 8 hours a day, except in case of pregnancy, childbirth and poor health. Food is prepared for groups and served in the dining halls. Laundry is washed on a communal basis. The only personal housekeeping problem is the care of the individual's or couple's room. Almost as many occupations are pursued as are followed by women of the city—some *kibbutz* women go to the city daily as members of parliament, newspaper women or on other assignments. Naturally, most of the agricultural workers are found here.

It was at Sasa, in northern Israel, that I saw young men and women launched on one of the most difficult tasks—that of building a new *kibbutz*. They were clearing the rubble from a deserted and bombed out Arab village on the Lebanese border. In this first all American-Canadian settlement, Leah, a petite and charming girl from California, told me how she takes turns with the others guarding the border at night with rifles.

I was impressed with the large groups of immigrant children from different countries that the various settlements had taken in and treated as their own *sabras*. Each family has adopted new children so that the hours they spend together when work is done—before and after supper—include newcomers of the same ages as their own children.

So when Leah, at Sasa, told me that the *kibbutz* had five children and six more were on the way, and I asked where these children were coming from, she said: "Do I have to tell you the facts of life?"

That about covered it. Everything the women of Israel have done has been so remarkable that we almost forget that they are still just women.

Our Battle For Production

By ELIEZER KAPLAN

Israel's Minister of Finance

ISRAEL is running a race with time today. Her problem is how fast she can step up her production. Almost overnight she needs to take her place beside the industrial nations of the western world. Only so can she absorb the millions of immigrants who have come to her shores as their "homeland," provide for the national security and assure to all her citizens a decent standard of living.

Economic, fiscal, and trade policies have all been geared to the meeting of this tremendous challenge. Public capital and the people's savings both go into the new enterprises that are springing up, while conditions are made as attractive as possible for private foreign investors. There is intensive training of skilled labor for industry. Extensive public works, price control and rationing, rigid control of imports, all are weapons in the battle for production.

Investments:

The population of Israel has increased 65 per cent in little more than two years. Boosting production fast enough to keep pace requires a constant flow of investments. In 1949 these equalled more than one-quarter of the total national income. Public and private capital shared equally in total net investments of I£.70,000,000. Of this sum I£.18.5 million went into agriculture; I£.34.5 million into building and public works; I£.11.5 million into industry; I£.0.8 million into communications; I£.4 million into commerce and services.

The rapid build-up of new industries creates a constant demand for machinery, equipment and materials that are not available inside the country. For their purchase Israel must have foreign capital. The I£.17,000,000 of investments from abroad in the last fiscal year has been earmarked to meet the primary requirements of steel and automobile manufacture, the production of building materials, textiles and plastics, the vital project of hotel construction.

Private investors find an open invitation in Israel's constantly expanding market. In addition, the Government offers them substantial privileges under the new capital investment law. These include customs exemptions, tax relief and withdrawal of foreign currency.

International loans have been a great help to Israel in realizing her development plans. In 1949 she obtained $100,000,000 from the US Export-Import Bank for investment in agriculture, industry, building and communication. The money will be used for machinery, equipment and materials, of which some $40,000,000 worth already has been received. The balance is expected by 1951.

Ordinary Budget:

Despite foreign aid, most of the money needed for the rapid development of Israel must come from internal sources. Private investment needs to be reinforced by the use of public funds. For this purpose, the State has a development budget which is used to initiate and stimulate essential economic projects. For the current year this amounts to I£.65,000,000. It is being expended in such important

The Development Budget of Israel

Branch of Investment	*In thousands of Pounds*	*%*
Agriculture (including rural housing)	20,300	31.23
Industry	8,700	13.40
Housing (excl. rural)	12,750	19.61
Communications	6,000	9.23
Road building and other public works	9,500	14.61
Building (incl. hospitals, etc.)	3,000	4.61
Tourist encouragement (loans for hotel bldg.)	1,250	1.92
Other projects (incl. soldiers' rehabilitation and development of the Negev	3,500	5.39
	65,000	**100.00**

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Our Battle for Production *continued*

fields as improvement of agriculture and rural housing, industry, workers' housing, communications, road building, and rehabilitation and development in the Negev.

Ordinary Budget:

The rapid growth of Israel's population creates overwhelming problems in providing health and social welfare services and education. Out of the current ordinary budget of I£.59.5 million, 60 per cent is used for these purposes and 25 per cent for security. The balance of security expenditures is covered by government loans and internal credits. The State has balanced its budget each year but its tax structure is today placing greater emphasis on the income tax.

Skilled Workers:

Skilled workers are in constant demand in every branch of Israel's economy. The Ministry of Labor in cooperation with the General Federation of Labor promotes courses for adult workers. Trade schools are subsidized; key people are sent to the United States, Switzerland and Great Britain to study new production methods. Experts in other countries have been invited to Israel to assist in the vast training program.

Measures to Curb Inflation:

Danger of inflation exists in any such rapid development as that which Israel is, by necessity, attempting. Increased currency circulation and the rapid growth of bank deposits, reflect this inflationary tendency. To combat it, the Government rations foodstuffs, shoes, clothing and other articles. Far-reaching price controls also have been introduced. Commission trade has been restricted, a luxury tax has been levied, income tax has been raised. Government loans have been floated, and there are tax reductions for savings and work premiums. As a result of this drastic program, the cost of living has come down. In May 1948 when the State was established, the index was 336. (August 1939-100). The peak was reached in April 1949-371. Government measures then became effective.

Foreign Trade:

Israel's trade balance is adverse. Imports amounted to I£.87.7 million in 1949, while exports totalled I£.10.6 million. Such a deficit is inevitable

Currency

Israel Pound (I£) = $2.80

100 Piastre = I£1.00

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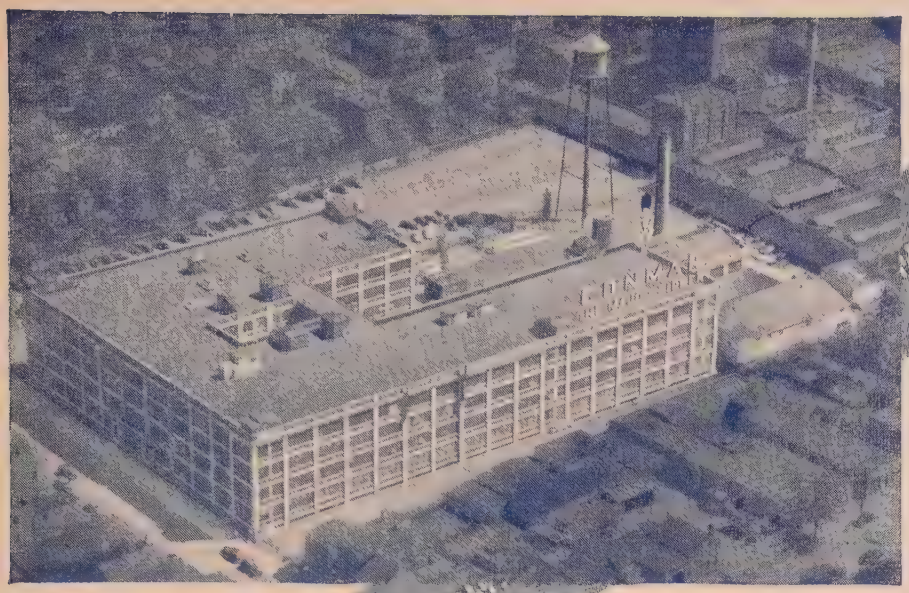
Cost of Living Index Figures

	April 1949	June 1950
	(August 1939—100)	
General Index	371	317
Food	462	369
Clothing and shoes	720	654
Rents and rent tax	142	159
Furniture and household articles	801	716
Education and culture	322	225
Taxes and contributions	271	255
Miscellaneous	197	203



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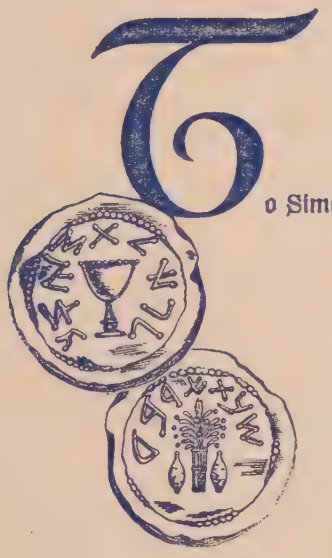

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Antiochus VII Sidetes to Simon Maccabaeus

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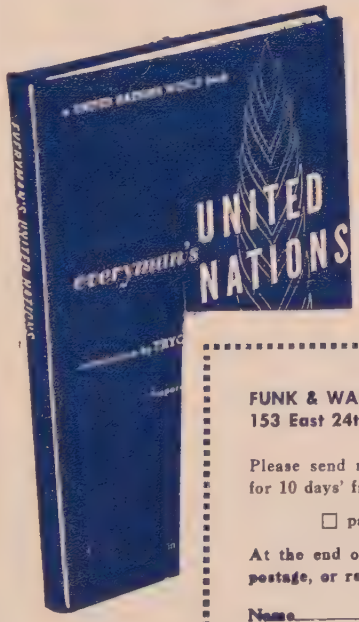

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in the present stage of the country's development. But the Government's import policy is directed toward increasing production, developing exports and rectifying the balance. Importation of less essential finished goods has been cut; while importation of machinery equipment and raw materials has been increased. Import of flour and sugar has been concentrated in the hands of Government-controlled firms. During the first five months of 1950, imports were allocated as follows: Goods for investment: 37.3 per cent; Raw materials: 30.3 per cent; Consumer goods: 26 per cent; Fuel: 6.4 per cent.

Meanwhile, every effort is being made to increase exports. Israel now has trade agreements with nine countries: Hungary, Holland, Poland, Finland, Uruguay, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Argentina, and Turkey; and is eager to conclude trade agreements with other countries.

The Rise in Production:

All these measures have combined to step up the production yield. On the average, agricultural output rose by 50 per cent in the current farm year, as against 1947-48.

Industrial output has been increased by 20-22 per cent. The output of "utility" products has been encouraged. Seven-and-a-half million units of clothes, 750,000 pairs of shoes, and 30,000 units of furniture have been manufactured according to schedule. The growing supply of popular and low-cost commodities has had a stabilizing effect on the price level of similar articles of higher grade.

The total number of wage earners in Israel now stands at 420,000. Since the State was established, the number has risen by 125,000, of whom 100,000 are new-comers. Although we have not yet absorbed all our new immigrants economically, we believe that this will be speeded as our development expands. So long as we vigorously combat inflationary tendencies, we may expect that our growing national production will effectively safeguard the standard of living of our people and the economic integrity of our State.

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The World's Most Successful Trade Union

By VICTOR G. REUTHER
Director, Education Department UAW-CIO

THIS spring I spent ten days in Israel. When I arrived there at the Lydda Airport, I was but 23 flight hours from my desk at the UAW-CIO Education Department in Detroit. Yet, despite the fact that in one sense I had flown backwards through time into a Biblical setting, after seeing at first hand this young and vigorous new nation in the building, and especially after talking to the men and women of Histadrut (Israel's trade union), I was overwhelmed by the illusion of having at last come home to the future. At the end of my visit I felt as though I were leaving a new-found homeland and returning to an older era.

My upbringing was trade union and Christian. My father taught me the ethical aspirations of democratic trade unionism, as well as Debs Socialism, while mother made certain that I regularly attended the Lutheran Sunday School, but no echo from my youth was responsible for the strong sense of home-coming I had in Israel and the feeling of loss I had on departing.

As I organized and analyzed my notes on the visit, I came to the conclusion that Israel today, more nearly than any country I know of, is realizing the aspirations of the democratic trade union movement, as well as the moral and ethical principles of applied Christianity. No small part of this stems from the fact that Histadrut, the trade union movement of Israel, has made a reality of the slogans, programs and idealism of every man or woman who ever rose at a union meeting to talk about a union problem. I don't know how many times I have heard a member arise during the discussion of an urgent, living problem and say, "Some day the union will get around to dealing with that problem."

I found in Histadrut that a great many of these half-promises, half-wishes, were being seriously tackled and were in many respects in the process of being fulfilled.

The organized workers of Israel are, of course, politically-minded and labor-party-minded, but despite the fact that more than half the members of the Knesset (Israel's parliament) are also members of Histadrut, a record no other free trade union in the world can match, there is no evidence that Histadrut believes all its problems can be resolved by the adoption of new legislation.

IT is significant, I believe, that the trade union movement of Israel has organized its own resources in manpower and organizational understanding, in intelligence and imagination, and has set about providing for people through voluntary and democratic activities many services which are usually sought through State action. I doubt if anywhere in the world there is or has ever been a nation in which the trade union movement itself has assumed so large a responsibility for housing, health, for vocational training, as well as cultural activities, for the operation of employment agencies, for the resettlement of immigrants, for old age security, and even for the financing of industrial and agricultural developments.

In other words, the union has assumed a direct responsibility for virtually the entire range of social and economic activities which by political evolution have become in most countries the exclusive domain of the State. The result of this has been, I believe, a tapping of tremendous reserves of democratic participation by the people in the solution of their common problems.

It is not possible to spend an hour in Israel today without being surrounded by activities which bear the mark of Histadrut—that is, without coming upon people working on a Histadrut project which is essential to the entire community. The factory you see may very well be one cooperatively owned and operated by Histadrut. The busses that provide transportation are manufactured in the Argaz factory at Tel Aviv, owned and operated cooperatively by Histadrut, and the transportation itself is cooperatively managed by the trade union.

The food that you eat there, in most instances, is cooperatively grown and marketed, for 70% of agriculture is cooperative. The daily newspaper with the greatest circulation, *Davar*, is published by Histadrut.

In the rapidly expanding industrial city of Haifa, more than half the homes now under construction, the quality of which, incidentally, has set a new high, are being constructed by Histadrut's cooperative construction agency.

Over half the hospitals and health facilities in Israel are Histadrut centers. Workers in search of jobs apply for employment at Histadrut labor exchanges. Many young people planning careers can secure vocational guidance and training in Histadrut centers, and they can also spend their

vacations in Histadrut camps.

Histadrut helps reclaim land, helps colonize it, farms it.

A worker's dues in Histadrut provide him with a pension when he becomes too old to work; they provide him and his family with a complete medical care program in union medical centers or hospitals when he is ill, and during his illness he receives sick pay from his union.

If he is unemployed, he can get a job on some public or private project at established union wages, as a result of a program by which Histadrut uses its funds to finance socially useful undertakings.

In contrast to the lower standards of living and the wages of workers in neighboring countries in the Middle East, the members of Histadrut, especially those in industry, enjoy a wage scale and standard of living even higher than in most of Europe.

Now not one of these activities is within itself new or unique for a trade union. Similar undertakings may be found in the trade union movements of other countries, particularly in Europe and to some extent even in the United States. But what is significant about Histadrut is that it is a trade union which has followed the logic of each of these activities until it has made being a member almost a way of life. Nowhere in modern society does a trade union assume such importance in the life of a worker as in Israel.

In the trade unions of the United States, or to be more specific, in the UAW-CIO, for example, a member looks to his union for assistance in dealing with his employer on wages, hours, working conditions and, more recently, because of new contract provisions, old age security, and for health insurance. While various unions in the US offer limited programs and services in many other fields, generally speaking—for recreation, housing, education and vocational guidance, as well as a vast range of other activities—a worker, union or non-union, looks to other institutions in the community.

The free trade union movement of Israel has demonstrated its ability to deal with economic and social problems as effectively, if not more so, than either government or private institutions. The result is that in Israel today there is developing another practical economic pattern for a free society, one in which power is sufficiently diffused among democratic agencies so that people can work effectively for their welfare without losing their free movement and privacy. Because of Histadrut's work to strengthen and broaden the democratic process, it is little wonder that Israel stands today as the great bulwark of democracy against the threat of communism in the Middle East.

CLASS IN A HISTADRUT VOCATIONAL SCHOOL FOUNDED BY US TRADE UNIONS

In the years that lie ahead, it is obvious that Israel, as well as Sweden, will be looked upon as a model by people who are in search of a way to win security without losing individual freedom.

For those of us in the US where the trade union movement has taken a deeper root than the cooperative movement, it is obvious that the Histadrut pattern is of particular significance, although I hasten to add that the Histadrut pattern, however, does not offer dotted lines along which workers in other lands can achieve the same effect. The fact that Jews in Israel were for so long a nation without state power, created a set of circumstances in which it was possible for a voluntary association to assume responsibilities that normally would go to a State; but even after this unique situation in Israel is considered, the achievements of Histadrut still are an inspiration to trade union people everywhere.

Today in Israel, the 330,000 members of Histadrut, industrial workers and farmers, Jews and Arabs, account for 58% of those gainfully employed in the land. Through their union, these 330,000 people maintain a medical system with 13 hospitals and 550 clinics that serve more than 600,000 individuals. Uniquely, Histadrut is not only the dominant labor union, it is also the major employer of Israel. Through cooperatives, Histadrut employs more than 30,000 workers in the building and metal trades, in glass and rubber factories, in auto and cement works. Some of these are the largest industries in Israel, but in addition, Histadrut has organized more than 400 small enterprises for some 10,000 wage-earning heads of families.

For the most part, these establishments were organized to meet the needs of immigrants being settled in border communities and in remote areas where because of heavy risks involved, businessmen have hesitated to invest private capital. These activities have given Histadrut attendant responsibilities.

Histadrut has, for example, through deliberate policy, steered its course to encourage the investment of private capital and the expansion of business enterprise side by side

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Rehovoth, Israel

Trade Union *continued*

with cooperative projects. Upon it has fallen the major responsibility for leading discussions on policies relating to wages, prices, profits and productivity.

Histadrut has not only sent teams abroad to study new and efficient methods of production, it has also pioneered in developing wage and price policies which are significant for the entire free world. Under this policy, already in effect in a number of cooperatively-owned factories, gains made as the result of technological advances will be allocated to workers, to consumers, and to the management on a 40-40-20 ratio—that is, 40% of the gains are given to the workers in the form of wage increases or other direct benefits, 40% to the consumers in price decreases or through improved quality, and 20% to the industry to be used for re-investment and expansion. While the specific division of these economic gains is not unimportant, what is of even greater significance is that these decisions which are fundamental to the economic well-being of all the people and fundamental to the health of the whole economy are being made democratically and rationally.

And here lies Histadrut's great achievement and great promise for all workers. It reveals how a democratic trade union can bind engineering and productive intelligence to idealism and freedom.

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HISTORIC SCENE at Flushing Meadow, May 11, 1949: Delegate Eban (center) watches joyfully as his overwhelmed Foreign Minister, Moshe Sharett (seated), receives a crushing handshake and congratulations upon admission of Israel to the United Nations.

Where Israel Stands

By AMBASSADOR ABBA EBAN

Permanent Representative of Israel to the UN

THE link between Israel and the United Nations has lost none of its peculiar strength and intimacy with the passage of the years. The very birth of Israel was associated with an act of international judgment which was immediately challenged by aggressive force. The Arab attack frustrated the process whereby the General Assembly sought to ensure the transition from Mandatary rule to independence; and the detailed provisions of that settlement were irrevocably set aside. The United Nations, however, rallied quickly from the blow. By admitting Israel to its membership on May 11, 1949, it settled the main point of issue, the existence and legitimacy of Jewish statehood. Later, in sponsoring and confirming the armistice agreements, it gave impressive proof of its mediatory functions. Once those agreements were signed, the course was set along a road where the consent of the parties became the indispensable condition of any further change.

Yet it must be confessed that little progress towards final peace has since been recorded. In its memorandum of March 29, 1950, the Palestine Conciliation Commission, after protracted exploration, laid down the procedures whereby the parties should meet under its auspices for the final settlement of all outstanding questions, including boundaries and the future of refugees. This memorandum was a crucial test of peaceful intention. It was accepted by Israel and rejected unreservedly by the Arab states. To their original offense of making war, the Arab governments now add the offense of refusing peace. The General Assembly should have no difficulty in

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Where Israel Stands

continued

estimating the value of appeals for judgment by those states which refuse to put their claims to the test of honest negotiation.

The fact that the United Nations can make no further progress without the active support of the governments concerned is exemplified by the Jerusalem question. A resolution conceived in disregard of the wishes and interests of Jerusalem's population was courageously discarded by the Trusteeship Council and returned to the General Assembly unimplemented. Democratic principles have a compulsion of their own. Least of all can they be set aside in the city of Jerusalem—from which the ethics of democracy were first proclaimed to all mankind, and in which the ideal of government by consent is expressed in the daily practice of a proud and constructive national life.

Solution for Jerusalem

Israel's proposal for establishing United Nations jurisdiction over all that is truly religious and universal in Jerusalem, while leaving its cherished democratic institutions intact, offers a unique opportunity of reconciling a high international purpose with the political objectives of the Charter, based on self-determination and self-government.

Israel is no longer free to confine its attention to its own direct concerns. The issues of peace and war in a divided world make heavy demands on the initiative and resourcefulness of all member states, however small or young. Korea is not the first instance in which a cease fire resolution of the Security Council has been ignored. Five such calls of the Security Council were repudiated by the Arab states in their savage war against Israel. Six thousand who died in the defense of Israel were the precursors of those who now fall in the United Nations cause. Israel's stand against aggression in Korea — ex-

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THE FIRST STAGE: Trygve Lie (right) congratulates Eban (left) after Security Council approved Israel's UN application.

pressed in two replies to the Secretary General—is thus predetermined both by principle and experience. Yet beneath the immediate question of peace and security lie the basic causes of unrest and upheaval in Asia. Can political freedom be combined in Asia with a clear vision of social progress? If so, democracy can be made secure. Political independence is not adequate by itself if the old economic servitudes linger on. Democracy cannot be instilled by military means alone, however necessary.

Israel is one of the few lands in Asia where that crucial combination of political freedom and social equality has been achieved. Its own example may thus well have a wide significance in the great contest between democracy and totalitarianism —of which Korea is but the latest round.

Israel's Principles

Opposition to aggression; the maintenance of agreements; the universality of the United Nations; the peaceful co-existence of rival political doctrines; international assistance to backward areas; the ordered emancipation of subject peoples—these are the principles emblazoned on Israel's banner as it advances towards the full assumption of its United Nations responsibilities.

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Report On the Arts and Letters

By EDWARD A. NORMAN
President, American Fund for Israel Institutions

THE day after the capture of Beersheba from the Arabs, the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra gave a concert there for the Israel Army. As they played on the rocky ground, the piano of their leader, Leonard Bernstein, rested precariously on stone slabs. The audience sat around on the rubble of battle and on shell-marked walls. But they loved every bar of it.

Music is the life blood of the Israeli. A subscription performance of the Orchestra has to be repeated nine times. A small city like Tel Aviv supports an opera company, and countless private recitals. In addition, there are dance groups, conservatories of music, as well as five repertory theaters.

There is also an Art Museum and new books pour from the presses at the rate of 900 titles a year, an extremely high rate when compared to 10,000 in the United States.

One of the finest tributes to Israel's cultural life was paid by Serge Koussevitzky on his return to America. "When you are in other countries," he said, "the monuments and buildings remind you of past ages; but when you are in Israel, the past, present and future are fused into one and thousands of years are before you."

In Israel, artistic and literary activities are not remote, esoteric activities but part and parcel of the daily life. One night an American attending a performance of the Habimah's "In the Wastes of the Negev," written by Mossenson, the playwright soldier, was surprised to see that his neighbor's eyes filled with tears. Sensing his surprise, the man turned to him and said apologetically: "You see, this isn't a play. This is our life."

In many countries, cultural interests are confined to the larger cities. What trickles down to the countryside is mostly negligible. In Israel, arts and letters are part of the life in the farm settlements just as sowing and harvesting are. Farmers have built museums in Ain Harod, Dagania, and Givat Brenner. Scores of other settlements are following their examples. The talented farmer is given time off to perfect himself in his art and the education of children includes creative work wherever possible. Traveling art exhibits are sent out from the cities to the settlements. Concert artists are welcomed in the far reaches of the land.

In Israel a throbbing literary and artistic life is not only a psychological but, perhaps even more, a national necessity. The new citizens have come from many lands, and represent a confusing variety of backgrounds. Many from the East have no education whatever. All these people must be absorbed not only in an economic and political but also in a cultural unity.

In the circumstances, the teaching of Hebrew and the education of teachers are of paramount importance. There is an Academy of Language whose day-by-day task is to supply the people with new words for their new activities. Literature, folklore, drama, music all contribute to spreading a sense of belonging.

Small as Israel is, it will doubtless

A Musical Treat

JASCHA HEIFETZ performs as soloist with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra directed by Leonard Bernstein. During the war such concerts often took place at the front.

contribute greatly to the growth of democratic culture throughout the world by the example it sets of integrating the arts with daily life, and by its willingness to share its art with other nations.

This has been particularly true of intercultural relations between the United States and Israel. We in the United States saw the Habimah Theater in 1948 when it visited New York. In 1949 a group of American artists presented a gift of American works to the Israel museum. In 1951 the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra will tour throughout the United States for ten weeks.

Cultural developments in Israel are going through a dynamic period. As to music, Leonard Bernstein speaks of three distinct schools: the highly nationalistic group (the Mediterraneanists) who base their work on the folklore of the region; the highly Germanic school, deriving from Bruckner, Hindemith, Reger; and the group of internationalists, mostly young men, some influenced by the music of France and some of American jazz.

In painting, the styles and schools are many and varied because of the diverse schooling of the artists. The city of Safed is developing its own "left bank." On a street called the Avenue of Painters, many of Israel's artists have taken up residence and this ancient and beautiful city is the inspiration of important creative work.

It will be fascinating to watch the emergence of a native Israeli art, for it will fuse a unique richness of elements. Traditions of almost every country of the world are influenced by the biblical background, the spirit of the East, and the climate of a new community consisting as much of seriousness of purpose as of joy over wonderful achievement.

As everything else concerning Israel, a report on the present status of culture becomes soon dated because the future comes so quickly on the heels of today. The city of Tel Aviv plans a new cultural center to include a building for the Orchestra. The growing settlement of Ein Gev is now building an outdoor amphitheater to house an Israel "Tanglewood Festival." In Jerusalem plans have already been promulgated to hold an international Festival of the Arts in the new assembly halls and buildings that have been erected there. Such activity can be found in almost every settlement of the country.

Life in Israel is creative intellectually and spiritually as well as materially. In a country still in the pioneering stage, the cultural atmosphere might be unsatisfactory, even grim. Actually, it is far from being so. It recalls the vibrant intellectual climate of European capitals. There is this exception, however, that love of culture penetrates the lower economic ranks more profoundly than in any other country. This cultural vitality has a strong favorable effect on the spirit and fortitude of the people, and helps them maintain their serenity in an atmosphere of severity.

Israel's Future Artists

ISRAELI YOUTHS express individual impressions of their model's biblical features in this class in charcoal sketching at Bezalel Art School in art-conscious Jerusalem.

Drama Flourishes in Tel Aviv

A SCENE from Shakespeare's "The Merry Wives of Windsor" in the Ohel Theater: L. Deganit as Mrs. Ford (left), D. Kostelanetz as Mrs. Page, M. Margalith as Falstaff.

The Land Which Invented Tourism

By ALAN MARBE

Director of Publications, State of Israel Tourist Department

EVER since Biblical days, Israel has been the goal of pilgrims and travellers from all over the world, eager to experience the exaltation of "living the story of the Bible."

Century after century, caravans and convoys of the faithful—or the curious — braved the hardships of stormy sea and sandy desert, of hazardous highway and perilous by-path, to come to the Land of the Book.

In our days, the country continues to exercise its fascination, and the modern tourist has found Israel easily accessible both by plane and by steamship. No less than 13 international airlines link this land with most countries of the world, and the facilities, equipment and personnel of Israel's main airport, Lydda, have made it known among aircrews as the finest in the Middle East. Haifa has gained a similar reputation among sailors—and for the traveller himself few sights can equal that first view of the fertile slopes of Mount Carmel.

The renascence of one of the oldest peoples in human history has proved of great interest to many people throughout the world. Even during the fighting of 1948, over 4,000 tourists visited the country, and during 1949, which also began as a year of war—although peaceful conditions returned by the end of spring —22,000 visitors toured Israel.

The first seven months of 1950, which is actually the first normal tourist year in the young State, witnessed an influx of 18,000 travellers, and it is expected that between 30 and 35,000 tourists will have visited the country by the end of the year.

Undoubtedly Israel's main attraction is the synthesis of modern living and an ancient landscape. The Hills of Judea, the Valley of Zebulon, the Sea of Galilee, the Brook Kishon, Nazareth, Jaffa, Tiberias—and above all Jerusalem—are linked with the familiar childhood memories of most persons brought up in the spirit of Western civilization. But today the landscape has come alive anew. The Hills of Judea are now dotted with young settlements, the Valley of Zebulon is the chief industrial area of a modern country, fishermen again throw out their nets daily on the Sea of Galilee and the Brook Kishon waters the outskirts of a fertile and populous area of Israel. Tiberias is again a popular winter and health resort, Nazareth is the fifth largest center of Israel and Jerusalem is the site of the Knesset—the newest parliament in the Old World.

In historic times Canaanite, Egyptian, Philistine, Babylonian, Assyrian and Jew have left ineradicable traces on the Israel landscape. These remnants of long ago are quite near modern centers of life. The churches of Nazareth built on traditional or Biblical sites are inside the town; the Canaanite and Biblical buildings of Meggido — the Armageddon of the New Testament—are near the modern village of Meggido; the ruins of the Crusaders' Castle of Antipatris, built on the site of ancient Aphek, are a few hundred yards from the populous towns of the Sharon.

Amid this wealth of ancient relics, a new way of life is being sought—and found—by the pioneers of Israel. This is the land where the future is

TIBERIAS, the charming winter resort well-known to history, is on the shore of the Sea of Galilee. In background, in neighboring Syria and Jordan, are the hills of Moab.

TEL AVIV is not only Israel's largest city, but also a seaside resort with modern hotels, a sought-out beach and gay crowds.

DAHLIA is host to an annual folk-dance festival, which is attended every year by more than 20,000 eager young people.

built on the ruins of the past; where the slender broken columns of Hellenistic temples stand out against the background of trim white houses, nestling among the cypress and pine trees.

One of the youngest countries of the world—and the youngest member of the United Nations—Israel still faces many problems of development, construction and reconstruction. And, next to the unforgettable experience of travelling on ground hallowed by mankind's most sacred traditions, the unique thrill the visitor gets in Israel is that he becomes an eyewitness to the pioneering growth of an old nation reborn to new life.

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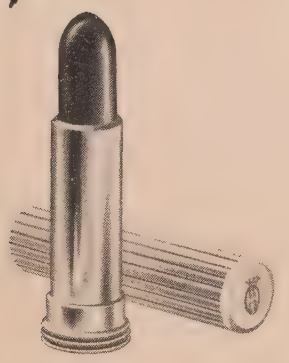

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Israel's Fight for Health

By DR. ELI DAVIS
Director, Hadassah Medical Organization

When War came to Israel in 1948, its comrade Disease was close behind. Medical and health facilities were almost overwhelmed by the needs of the army and the influx of 120,000 poor and ill-nourished refugees who swarmed into the country from Yemen and North Africa. Typhoid, malaria, polio and tuberculosis rose sharply and only the heroic work of Israel's health agencies averted a disaster.

Today it can be reported that Israel's doctors and nurses, backed by Kupat-Holim — the Worker's Sick Fund—Hadassah Medical Organization, the Army Medical Services and Malben—which cares for the chronic sick—are the victors in a critical battle against disease.

In this momentous fight, the years of experience of Israel's pioneer health organizations, Kupat - Holim and Hadassah, were of first importance.

When the first Hadassah medical mission arrived from the United States in 1913, Palestine was medically in the Dark Ages. Out of every 1000 babies born, 250 died before they were a year old; malaria, dysentery and smallpox were rife. The only medical organization then in Palestine was the Kupat-Holim, a cooperative sick fund established in 1912 by 150 agricultural workers in Judea.

The fourteen doctors, nurses and medical workers of the Hadassah team began to teach Jews and Arabs the fundamentals of public health—what to do with sewage, how to protect the water supply from contamination, how to guard pregnant women and new-born babies from infection. Other Hadassah teams followed, healing and teaching. In the cities, and in isolated desert villages Hadassah and the rapidly growing Kupat - Holim established maternal and child health clinics.

By 1940 Palestinians could be proud of an infant mortality rate of only 38 per thousand. Through Kupat-Holim, now the medical arm of Histadruth—the Palestine Federation of Labor—more than half of the Jewish population and many Arab workers were insured against sickness.

The War of Independence threw Israel's health situation back thirty years. And even as the fighting continued the new state opened its borders to free immigration. In the first year 200,000—in addition to the refugees from Yemen and North Africa—arrived and had to be cared for. Up and down the country buildings were requisitioned as hospitals. Doctors and nurses among the immigrants were put to work as soon as they arrived.

In Israel today, doctors, nurses and hospital beds are still in critically short supply. Immigration, at the rate of 250,000 a year, has nearly doubled the Jewish population and still continues.

Tremendous efforts are being made to meet this need. Hadassah now has 70 clinics from Galilee to the Negev which give maternal and child care as well as general medical treatment.

Kupat-Holim will spend $5,000,000 out of its 1950-1951 annual budget of $25,000,000 for new buildings.

The shortage of medical personnel is being attacked by recruitment from abroad and by training at home. The newly established Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School is training Israel's medical students for work as public health doctors, and has sent twenty of its best physicians abroad for graduate study in this field. Nurses and social workers are being recruited abroad for fifteen months service in Israel.

Israel's leaders have no intention of quitting the battle when conditions have been restored to those of 1940. The Israel Government is studying a social insurance plan which is designed to fill in the gaps left by the present services and provide overall security for the whole population. With defense and internal development to be paid for it will be many years before such a plan can be put into complete operation. When it is, the experience which has been gained over the years by Hadassah, by Kupat-Holim, by Malben and by the present municipal and state health services will once again serve the nation.

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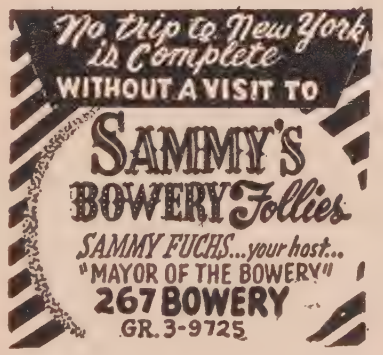

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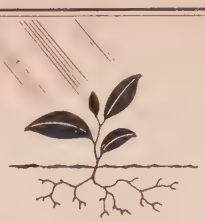

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The New Law In the Country of the Law

By HAIM H. COHN
Attorney-General of Israel

THE law of the nation of Israel is today in a state of swift flux. The ancient codes of the Ottomans, the Moslems and the Jews, the religious commandments, the British common law long enforced in Palestine, are all being sifted and welded together by experts, into what may become the most modern body of law the world has ever seen.

The process began on May 14, 1948, when the men who had sat on the Jewish Agency Executive and in the National Council of Jews in Palestine, established a 37-member Provisional Council of State, with the powers and functions of a legislature. The legal crazy-quilt in force in Palestine on that day was to remain so, until from it could emerge the new, clear statutes, wearing, along with their garb of venerable tradition, the lines and features of present-day social consciousness, of recognition of individual human rights and of the obligations of states to the international community as well as to their own citizens.

The Ottoman law which prevailed before the British occupation had been much enriched by the application of the British common law wherever the mandatary codes provided no specific remedies. This common law tradition had in fact become the backbone of the Palestine legal system. Ordinances enacted by the British High Commissioner had likewise been modeled on English statutes. They covered wide fields of administration, civil and criminal procedure. What they did not touch was the personal status laws—those dealing with marriage, divorce, succession, wills, guardianship — which had been the unfettered domain of the religious communities.

The religious courts still retain jurisdiction in these matters in Israel. But their sacrosanct principles, whether Mohammedan or Jewish, are being revised under the impact of the Knesset—the first parliament, elected in January 1949. This recently adopted a law prohibiting marriage of a minor under 17 years of age. The religious codes had allowed marriage of girls at 12, boys at 13.

The Bill on Equal Rights for Women, now before the Parliament, will, when it is law, abolish the disqualifiations of women that still exist in religious law, such as incapacity to testify, or to serve as guardian or executor, and restrictions on married women in dealing with their property. It will impose the same obligations on wife and husband in the maintenance and education of children. The religious courts will thus no longer be able to discriminate between the sexes.

Toward a Constitution

The foremost task of the Knesset is of course the drafting of the Constitution. To speed necessary reform measures, it was recently decided to enact a number of shorter "constitutional laws," which could finally be consolidated into one Constitution.

A comprehensive nationality law has been in preparation by experts for almost two years, and is now on the table of the Knesset. An interim law, already enacted, declares the right of every Jew to come to live in Israel as his homeland; those exercising this right are entitled to Jewish nationality—but lose it if they establish a domicile elsewhere.

Another "constitutional" law now being introduced by the Government deals with the appointment of judges, their tenure of office, remuneration and privileges. In the main, however, the changes in existing general law are reformatory in character. One for instance, provides for compulsory education for every child in Israel between the ages of six and thirteen. Previously, school education had been voluntary, and neither sponsored nor paid for by government. Jewish elementary education had been almost universal; this will now be extended to all the population.

A legislative problem that occupied much time in the last parliamentary session was concerned with administration of property abandoned by the lawful owner when he left the country. Such property is now vested in a custodian with powers and duties defined by law. He may not dispose of it except to a Development Authority charged with exploiting it for industrial and agricultural development.

Still another new law provides custodianship for the properties of German nationals, which had formerly been administered by an Enemy Property Custodian under the Trading with the Enemy Ordinance. Both the Absentees' Properties Law and the German Properties Law have provisions enabling the authorities to re-

turn such properties in special cases to rightful claimants.

Major reforms in the criminal law are under way. By the old statutes, juvenile offenders and prisoners were liable to corporal punishment by whipping and flogging. These obsolete penalties have now been struck out. A Bill for the Abolition of Capital Punishment has had its first reading in the Knesset. Opinions were almost equally divided. The Commission of experts appointed by the Minister of Justice recommended that the death penalty be abolished except for treason and premeditated murder, for which it should be optional. The Bill, as now written, abolishes the death penalty for murder, but retains it for treason in time of war. Since the establishment of the State, nine persons have been condemned for murder, but none executed. The sentences of two were commuted to life imprisonment by the President. The other seven await the deliberations of Parliament.

Israel has new laws and new courts for the prosecution and punishment of black-marketeers. These courts are composed of a presiding judge and two laymen—the first time that laymen have been joined to criminal court benches. Until recently, laymen had been appointed only to quasi-judicial tribunals, as for fixing rents or assessing compensation for war damage and the like In the anti-profiteering courts, lay judges are full-fledged members, and decisions are by majority vote on all questions of law, fact and punishment.

A law introducing the felony of genocide has been incorporated into our penal system. This gives effect in Israel to the International Convention on Genocide adopted by the United Nations. Another law, recently enacted, provides for the prosecution and punishment in Israel of Nazi murderers and felons, even though the offenses may have been committed outside the ordinary jurisdiction of Israel courts. This statute is designed to provide machinery for the apprehension and punishment of Nazis and their collaborators who may be in Israel but who would not, under the general criminal law, be amenable to our courts.

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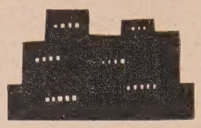
THE GROWTH OF ISRAEL

POPULATION	1948	1950
Jewish population	651,000	1,080,000
Non-Jewish population	69,000	170,000
Total population	720,000	1,250,000



CITIES	1948	1950
Tel Aviv	200,000	300,000
Haifa	75,000	155,000
Jerusalem	100,000	120,000

Between establishment of State of Israel (May 14, 1948) and end of 1949	**341,150**
In 1950 through July	**92,317**

IMMIGRATION

From the establishment of the State to August, 1950 . . . 433,467 entered Israel. In contrast, during the thirty years from 1919 to 1948, a total of 464,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine.

EDUCATION	1947	1949†
Jewish schools	997	1,300
Teachers	5,961	6,300
Pupils	112,000	137,000

HIGHWAYS	May 14, 1948	Early 1950
Kilometers	1,900	2,500
	1948-49	**1949-50**
Expenditure for new construction	I£. 300,000	I£. 2,000,000

AGRICULTURE	1948	1949	1950*
Areas in cultivation (¼ of an acre):			
Cereals	414,000	830,000	1,150,000
Fodder	60,000	65,000	75,000
Vegetables	45,000	48,000	90,000
Fish Ponds	13,000	15,000	18,000
Plantations	165,000	270,000	295,000

IN KIND:	1948	1949	1950
Cattle (per head)	33,000	236,000	43,000
Poultry (in numbers)	1,160,000	2,300,000	2,800,000
Milk production (in liters)	81,000,000	79,000,000	96,000,000
Eggs (in number)	163,000,000	238,000,000	350,000,000
Value of Agricultural Production (in I£.)	27,100,000	34,500,000	not given

*The value for 1950 is not stated; the production is an estimate

EMPLOYMENT	1947	1950
Jewish wage earners	255,000	345,000*

*An increase of 35%

†By 1950 there were also 68 schools for 14.700 Arab children, twice the figure for 1948.

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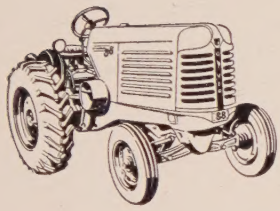

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